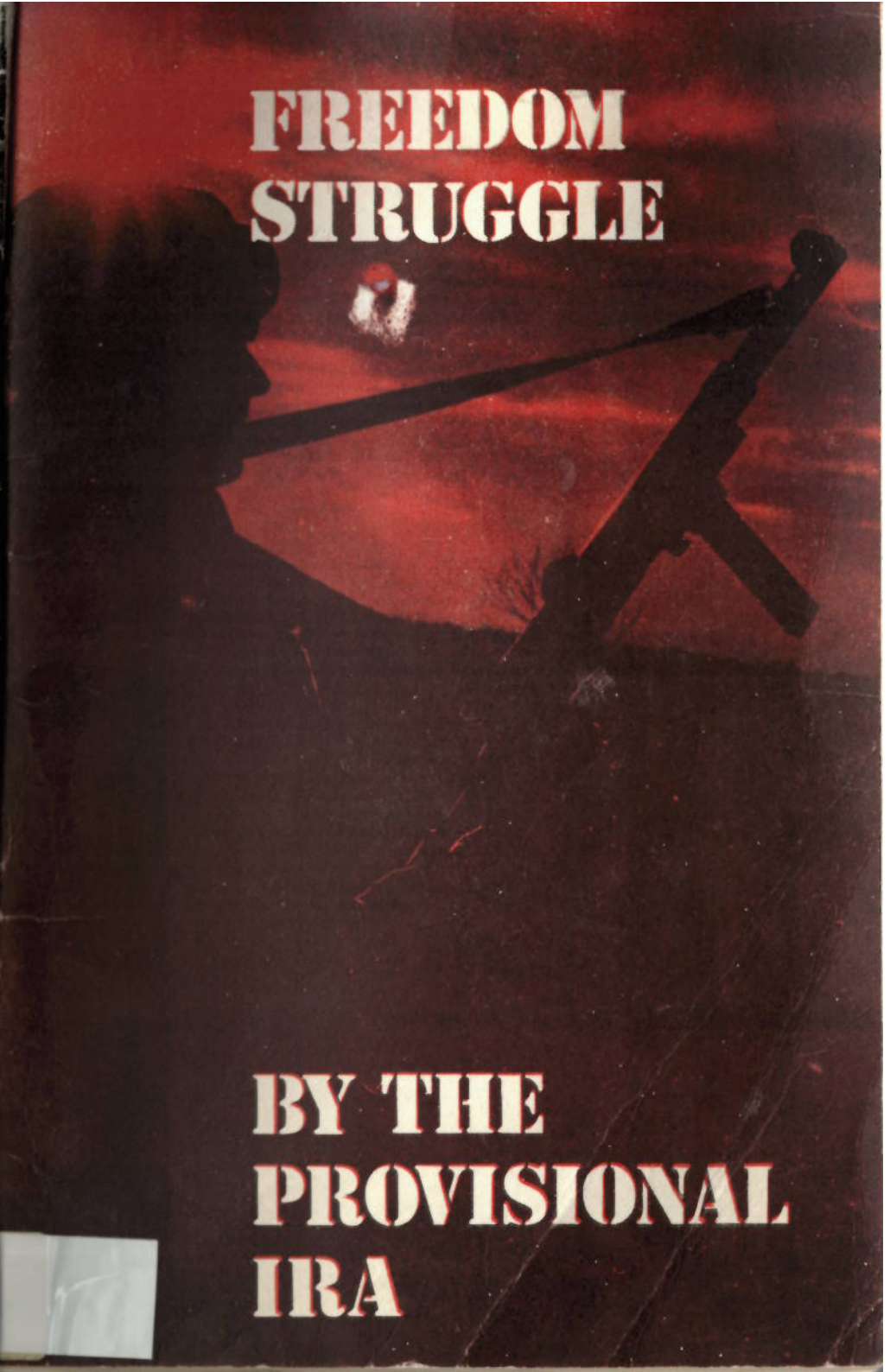
FREEDOM STRUGGLE



BY THE PROVISIONAL IRA

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Réamhrá

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Appendix

BELIEVING THAT THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT HAS NO RIGHT IN IRELAND, NEVER HAD ANY RIGHT AND NEVER CAN HAVE ANY RIGHT IN IRELAND, THE PRESENCE IN ANY ONE GENERATION OF IRISHMEN OF EVEN A RESPECTABLE MINORITY READY TO AFFIRM THAT TRUTH MAKE THAT GOVERNMENT FOREVER A USURPATION AND CRIME AGAINST HUMAN PROGRESS.

I PERSONALLY THANK GOD THAT I HAVE LIVED TO SEE THE DAY WHEN THOUSANDS OF IRISH MEN AND BOYS AND HUNDREDS OF IRISH WOMEN AND GIRLS WERE READY TO AFFIRM THAT TRUTH AND ATTEST IT WITH THEIR LIVES IF NEED BE.

JAMES CONNOLLY SPEAKING TO
THE BRITISH COURT MARTIAL
WHICH CONDEMNED HIM TO
DEATH. *EASTER 1916*

[C1974]

Réamhrá

War is one of the harsh realities of life and being the weapon by which Empires are built, logically enough this same instrument brings about the oppressor's fall. The moral right to wage war of liberation has never been questioned: the moral right, in fact duty, of challenging a foreign oppressive army of occupation, in our case that of a one-time colonial power Great Britain, **has never been questioned in the long and bitter history of Ireland.** Primarily therefore I.R.A. action has been directed against the Crown Forces, their allies — civilians in para-military guise, touts, spies, collaborators — also against property used in any way to further the stranglehold of the enemy by proffering cover, sustenance or what might appear outwardly as an "innocent" front.

"Freedom Struggle" is basically a case history dealing with British atrocities in Northern Ireland, and with Republican militant action. The accounts of torture, brutalty, sadism and genocide speak for themselves. Suffice it to say that these depraved actions are now causing Britain acute embarrassment, the worst in her long imperial history. In Strasbourg a **prima facie** case has been made in these matters at the Court Of Human Rights. Equally embarrassing to the Foreign Office is the fact that the British Inquiry known as the Widgery Tribunal is now seen to have been outrageously biased and downright corrupt, perjury being the order of the day. Indeed, 'to widger' has now become an accepted term in the English language; it means that the facts of a case have been so miscontrued as to find in favour of the Establishment. Not even the slick British Propaganda machine could rectify this: English newspapers without exception failed to report on Strasbourg.

Much newspaper mileage however has been made by the London Black Propaganda Machine and its side-kicks at Thiepville Barracks, Lisburn, out of the campaign waged by the I.R.A. These brave and patriotic men they would have presented to the world as "terrorists", "murderers, "men of violence". There is an all too familiar British War Office claptrap ring about these terms. They have been used in Kenya, Palestine, Cyprus, India, in fact wherever the presence of the Saxon Oppressor was challenged and finally defeated. In Ireland, these Fleet Street blackenings date back to the 1916-1921 period. They are not new.

Already the so-called "men of violence" have accomplished their primary aim — the engagement and destruction of the British Army as may be gleaned from the facts that over 200 British Soldiers have died and over 3,000 been wounded, not to mention equipment captured or destroyed.

Likewise, deep inroads have been made on British Army morale bringing about a state of severe apprehension tantamount to revolt and cowardice. So bad are matters within the rank and file of Her Majesty's much-vaunted regiments that the Prime Minister, Edward Heath, had to make a 2-day visit, entirely off schedule, to bolster up 'the troops'. A clear

case of crack-regiments becoming cracked! The extent to which the **esprit de corps** of the British Army has been shatered by constant and daring I.R.A. action is clearly illustrated in the withdrawal of the soldiers and their "eyes and ears"—R.U.C. personnel—from all border areas leaving some 350 miles of terrain to sporadic helicopter sorties, which at most do not exceed 30 mins. duration. Already Republican Army action has blasted the infamous border back. This immobilisation too of British soldiers is seen as a repeated sequence in our history and can easily be equated with the withdrawal to large garrison-towns made by the Auxiliaries and the Black and Tans having abandoned the outposts in other days.

Perhaps it was in the matter of "indiscriminate bombing" that the British Black Propaganda Machine whined loudest. The irony of this tag — "indiscriminate bombing" — will not be lost on those who remember Marshall's saturation bombing of certain German cities as civilian targets with the war virtually over. When it suits the W.A.S.P.s they bomb as mightily and as indiscriminately as they pleased. Hiroshima, Najasaki and Vietnam bear modern witness to this. The white Anglo-Saxon Protestant miliary elite certainly do not send warnings: they count their victims in tens of thousands, not in single digits. Yet they feel smug about "the actions", as if they had some right to bombing, a "morality" based no doubt on the dictum "Might is Right".

Quite frankly it suited I.R.A. strategy to carry out selective bombings in Belfast, Derry, and other towns in Occupied Ulster. They see these actions as a legitimate part of war, the targets chosen being military and police barracks, outposts, customs offices, administrative and Government buildings, electricity transformers and pylons, certain cinemas, hotels, clubs, dance halls, pubs, all of which provide relaxation and personal comforts for the British Forces; also business targets e.g. factories, firms, stores, (sometimes under the guise of 'CO-OPs') owned in whole or part by British financiers or companies, or who in any way are a contributory factor to the well-being of Her Majesty's invading forces, and in certain instances residences of people known to harbour or be in league with espionage personnel or **agents provocatours** namely the S.A.S. MRF and S.I.B. In many ways this campaign is reminiscent of that carried out by the Underground Resistance in France during World War II.

In all cases I.R.A. bomb squads give adequate warning though these warnings are sometimes withheld or delayed deliberately by the British Army as a counter-tactic, with view to making optimum publicity out of the injured and the dead in their propaganda war on the I.R.A. In no instance has the "warning rule" been violated by the guerrilla forces in sharp contrast with the "no warning" methods used by the Unionist gangs and British Army **agents provocateurs.**

The Abercorn Restaurant, McGurk's Bar, Benny's Bar and more recently McGlades Bar, are frightening examples of the latter type of instant bombing. Naturally it presents less risk to the bombers in terms of personal safety and lessens the chances of being apprehended. As well as giving warnings, the I.R.A. always claims full responsibility for all military action taken even should this redound unfavourably on the Republican Movement's popularity; E.B.N.I. and Donegall Street are classic examples of this. Over the years the Press has learned to accept the veracity of Irish Republican Pubilicity Bureau statements, whereas, with

the British Army's constant propaganda hand-outs, various versions of incidents and blatant covering-up of tracks, have created for them a gross credibility gap.

The effect of the I.R.A. bombing campaign can be guaged in many different ways. Firstly, they have struck at the very root of enemy morale, confining and tying down large numbers of troops and armoured vehicles in centre city areas, thus relieving much of the pressure on the much-oppressed nationalist areas. In terms of direct financial loss (structural damage, goods, machinery) also in the crippling of industrial output and perhaps worst of all in the scaring-off of foreign capital investments, I.R.A. bombs have hit Britain where she feels it most — in her pocket.

England always found unfortunate soldiers quite indispensable and to a certain extent replaceable, but she always counted in terms of cost to the Treasury. Any peace through the granting of Freedom emanating to rebellious colonies from London came by means of calculation — the COST of OCCUPATION. Since 1969 a bill of warfare running to at least a conservative £500,000,000 has not gone unnoticed back home in Britain where recent opinion polls showed that over 54% of the ordinary people wanted the troops withdrawn forthwith.

Already some 1,500 troops have left Northern Ireland never to return. In many cases death certificates have been issued as for fatal road accident victims to the unsuspecting next-of-kin of soldiers killed in action in a heartless attempt at cooking records and hiding telling manpower losses. Suddenly Northern Ireland has become England's Vietnam. In the knowledge that the will to overcome of a risen people can never be defeated by brute force or even overwhelming odds more enlightened British Politicians have seen the light and are themselves thinking along Tone's famous dictum: "Break the connection!"

Great Britain too, of course, has suffered losses other than bomb damage and loss of personnel. Her prestige and credibility in terms of world opinion and world finance have been severely shaken; her duplicity and selective sense of justice have been seriously exposed; her puerile hankering after "holding the last vestige of the Empire" has marked her as a recidivist nation, psychologically vulnerable, unstable and mentally immature. These considerations have not been lost on the European Common Market Countries, especially France and Monsieur Pompidou. Britain's dilemma in Ireland is of her own making and is now seen as a black mark against her in the New Capital — Brussels. Time is running out along the Thames.

In retrospect the festering sore that was in Stormont-ruled Six Counties could never be fully exposed by passive methods. Civil Rights would fall but not Stormont! Burntollet and Bombay Street 1969 proved that. Talk was but a poor weapon against an entrenched Tory Establishment. Arm-chair pundits sometimes conveniently like to forget the hard road that earns Freedom: they think in terms of instant results confusing the end product with the processing. As in 1921 "Talks with Britain" are only arrived at after a tough and bitter campaign. Regretably it is true that such intransigence on the part of the oppressor with her anachronistic Empire mentality has caused great suffering and much personal loss to all involved .

Both minority and majority communities have suffered cruelly for the overlord's centuries of misrule and economic milkings. Republicans have

gone through Death, Torture and Internment; have seen their ghetto homes attacked and burned, yet they have not, and will not waver. They indeed feel betrayed by the Free State and reactionaries in Southern Ireland who would now appear to occupy the dubious position of Petain and Quisling. Many Northern Republicans are now in Free State Jails for their patriotism after Special Court (non-jury) trials. Yet their dream is a steadfast one, their cause based on unerring principles — a New Ireland, a socialist democratic Republic, non-sectarian and above all free from the claws of England.

Protestant and Presbyterian communities have suffered their share too in what is essentially a British blue-print for war amongst Irishmen. The callous manner in which the British Army even withheld bomb warnings to ensure civilian deaths is proof enough of this, but perhaps the foulest deeds of any war are those perpetrated by S.A.S., the British "civilian" army **agents provocateurs.** They and their fellow murderers, the M.R.F. (Military Reaction Force) organise the planned assassination of marked men from both Protestant and Catholic Communities and execute their sinister plot in a manner calculated to set Republicans and Unionists at each others throats, calculated to lead to revenge — slaying and mass-murder. Not just satisfied with their slaying, the **agents provocateurs** make sure that the corpses of their victims are exploited to the fullest in terms of hate-content, by dumping a dead Republican in some Unionist stronghold and vice verse. This has all the hall-marks of savagery and inhumanity accurately associated with depraved minds such as "Mad Mitch" and his understudy, Brigadier Kitson. Luckily, and by means of splendid, Counter Intelligence, the I.R.A., in their uncovering of the M.R.F. agents operating under cover of the Four Square Laundry in Belfast, foiled for a time Britain's Genocide Gang. Since five of the M.R.F. were executed and their ranks penetrated, these particularly brutal slayings almost ceased but have restarted recently. The sincerity of the London "Supremo" in Occupied Ulster, Mr. William Whitelaw, may be gauged from the fact that he offered £50,000 as a reward towards the apprehension of the sectarian slayers!

It is the sad history of British Governments that they treat only after years of turmoil and strife. Only very recently in a futile effort to somehow shake off the savagery of internment without trial. Heath announced a new move—Detention! Not to be outdone, or appear out of step, the Free State Minister for Justice, Mr. Desmond O'Malley was, in his own words, "hard at work" on similar Special Powers notwithstanding the fact that it was he who first introduced Special Courts in Dublin, also the first 'detention camp' at the Curragh. His successor, Patrick Cooney is also, it would appear, oblivious to the possible collision course on which politicians have embarked in the South. Then London can sit back and laugh. However, the Irish electorate now sorely disillusioned with their first taste of the Common Market may well give a massive "no" for answer to the Free State collaborationists in due course.

One thing is certain, the Provisionals would never ask their fellow Irishmen in the North to join hands with the reactionary regime in Dublin. They have witnessed too much graft and corruption in these pseudo-republican ranks for that — one attempt being a £10,000 bribe to the S.D.L.P. The Provisionals however do ask the majority in the North to unite with them in making a new nation, an old country. Six Counties

is but a fraction of Ireland; the Protestant and Presbyterian peoples of the North have as much a birthright to the Twenty-Six as have any Catholic. It is our dearest wish that they would go claim that birthright, now, and having claimed it that they would then proceed to enrich and cultivate it with the industry for which they are renown.

This would be a far more meaningful and extensive connection than that which presently exists, or is thought to exist, between themselves and Great Britain, especially as the English People would appear to be growing less enthusiastic daily about that bond of kinship. Should England declare 'Intent' and make preparation for the withdrawal of troops over a reasonable period, say 3 years, then assured of sovereignty an unoccupied Ireland would gradually return to normality and peace. Much of the onus towards this achievement would quite naturally fall on the shoulders of Ulstermen. There would have to be close co-operation in all matters relating to policy-making and administration. It would be in England's best interest to continue underpinning the economy, thus ensuring continuing standards of social welfare and wage-earnings.

Already Sinn Fein, the Provisional political arm, has proposed a regional Parliament (Dail Uladh) embracing not just six but the nine counties i.e. the ancient territory of Ulster. In this the majority party in the North would have a working majority of some ¼ million votes. There could be no question of fears of a "take-over". Likewise, the Provisionals have seen to it that regional parliament movements have been set up in the remaining provinces in the rest of the country, namely, Leinster, Connacht and Munster.

New Irelands future most certainly lies in regionalism, not in centralist power inward looking and grasping as it was in Stormont, as it presently is in Leinster House. Small men with equally small minds should have to bow out and give way to a new vibrancy, a forward-thinking concept not centred around tight family power bases as witnessed in the past.

Aristocracies of political power are quickly becoming a thing of the past as the new emergent nation begins to take shape, though still in a state of upheaval and flux. No individual, or set of individuals has the right to stand idly by or in the way.

Finally, a warning to the Tory Government of Great Britain. The Provisionals, as you already know from talks in the past, will never go cap-in-hand to London. They are not an army in disarray or fatigued; in fact they speak from a pinnacle of proficiency and strength never before enjoyed by Irishmen at war with England. Prime Minister Heath and others would do well to take cognisance of these facts.

P. Ó Néill
Irish Republican Publicity Bureau,
June 30, 1973.

Background

Before we start into the narrative proper of the conflict in the Six Occupied Counties of North-East Ulster over the last couple of years, it was felt that the complete background to the formation of the Six County state should be given.

For this introduction, therefore, we reprint here a potted history of the national struggle, which is extracted from "IRELAND — THE FACTS", published in six languages by Sinn Féin in November, 1971. Copies of this booklet are still available from Sinn Féin, 2A Lr. Kevin Street, Dublin 8, at 25p.

1500 Years

The division of Ireland into two separate states was imposed by England under the Government of Ireland Act passed in the Westminster Parliament in December, 1920. Yet the nationhood of all Ireland has been an accepted fact for more than 1500 years and has been recognised internationally as a fact. Professor Edmund Curtis, writing of Ireland in 800 A.D. says that "she was the first nation north of the Alps to produce a whole body of literature in her own speech"; and he continues: "The structural unity of Ireland had now, remained intact for four centuries in language, law, religion, and culture".

There was national kingship in Ireland under the High King for more than five centuries before the foundation of an English or French monarchy, and a large number of these High Kings of Ireland came from Ulster. The Viking invasions of the eighth, ninth and tenth centuries were repulsed under the leadership of the High Kings.

In 1169 the Norman Invasion began. The Irish resisted strongly and it was not until 1601 in the reign of Elizabeth I of England that the Gaelic system of law and organisation was broken. In that year a combined Spanish and Irish force were defeated at Kinsale in Co. Cork, in the province of Munster. In 1607 the resistance of the Northern province of Ulster collapsed and the Northern Chieftains went into exile.

After being under attack for more than four centuries, all of Ireland was now under English control.

During that time many of the English settlers had become "ipsis-hibernicis hiberniores" — more Irish than the Irish themselves. In 1609 the lands of the Ulster Chieftains were confiscated and planted with settlers from England and Scotland — many of whom were English soldiers.

County Derry was taken over by the City of London and the name changed to "Londonderry". The Scots predominated. Scotland had been colonised by the Irish some 1,000 years before and these Scots settlers came from another Celtic people who had the same language, laws, and literature as the Irish but differed from them in religion.

The native Irish were Roman Catholic, the settlers Presbyterian and Protestant (Anglican). Most of the Irish remained on their lands because

the lanters needed their labour, but they remained as tenants rather than as owners.

By 1641 the Irish had revolted, establishing a national Parliament in Kilkenny which stood not only for independence but for the full liberty f religion and conscience. This national revolt was brutally crushed by Oliver Cromwell in 1649.

The United Irishmen

In the 18th century, both the Roman Catholics and Presbyterians became interested in the democratic Republican ideas that inspired the American and French revolutions. Both groups had suffered under the Penal Laws which had created a Protestant ascendancy. In 1775 the English Lord Lieutenant commented: "The Presbyterians in the North, who in their hearts are Americans, are gaining strength every day", and in 1779 the Presbyterians were described in the Stopford-Sackville papers as "violently attached to Republican principles".

In 1791 the Society of United Irishmen was formed with the objective of breaking the connection with England and establishing an Irish Republic. It was declared illegal in 1794.

From this time on the movement for Irish independence became democratic and republican in character, and the United Irishmen, who included Roman Catholics, Presbyterians, and Protestants were foremost in shaping it.

Theobald Wolfe Tone, the greatest of the Republican leaders, and a Protestant, is regarded as the "Father of Irish Republicanism" and is honoured every June in a remembrance ceremony at his grave.

Divide and Conquer

The English opposed the United Irishmen in several ways. They crushed with great severity the republican insurrection of 1798 in which Ulster Presbyterians, led by men like Henry Joy McCracken, and Henry Munroe, took up arms for an Irish Republic and were joined by Irishmen of all denominations in various parts of the country. They were assisted by a number of French expeditionary forces. English propaganda represented the insurrection as a civil war, an attack by the Roman Catholics on the Protestants and a "popish" plot.

Most effective of all, the English Government promoted the establishment in 1795 of the Orange Order, a sectarian and exclusively protestant secret society which soon instituted widespread terror and persecution. This was the imperial policy of "divide and conquer" at work. "If I am permitted" wrote General Knox, Commander of the British Army in Ulster "as I am inclined, to encourage the Orangemen, I think I shall be able to put down the United Irishmen."

In reply the English Chief Secretary, Thomas Pelham, approved the plan to "increase the animosity between the Orangemen and the United Irishmen". Later, Pelham's successor, Sir Robert Peel, also endorsed this view. Referring to Roman Catholics and Protestants, he said "I hope they may always be disunited. The great art is to keep them so, and yet at peace or rather not at war with each other".

The United Kingdom

Having crushed the insurrection of 1798 and having set about a deliberate policy of dividing and conquering along Sectarian lines, the English Government abolished the Irish Parliament (which had only limited powers) and enacted the Act of Union of 1800 which established the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland. The Orangemen were encouraged and English propaganda spread the lie that if the mass of the Irish people attained their freedom they would persecute the Presbyterians. The movements for Catholic Emancipation and Repeal of the Union were misrepresented as being not for Ireland but against Protestantism.

Nevertheless, the Young Ireland Movement of the 1840's and the constitutional Home Rule Movement of the 1870's included many Protestants. The Presbyterian historian, Rev James P. Woodburn, wrote: "There are not two races in Ireland — the whole population is a mixture of Celtic and Teutonic and the Ulsterman has probably as much Celtic blood as the Southerner".

The Orange Card

Nationalist victories in several general elections convinced the English Liberal Prime Minister Gladstone that Ireland should have Home Rule. The Conservative (Tory) Party set out to use the "Ulster Question" to destroy Gladstone's party, and the partition proposals date from that time.

Lord Randolph Churchill, father of Sir Winston Churchill, wrote in 1885: "I decided some time ago that if Gladstone went for Home Rule the Orange Card would be the one to play" and again "I should not hesitate, if other circumstances were favourable, to agitate Ulster even to resistance beyond constitutional limits".

He told an Orange audience at the Ulster Hall in Belfast that "Ulster at the proper moment will resort to the supreme arbitrament of force". In later years Sir Winston Churchill told of the riots his father's speeches had caused: "So savage, repeated, and prolonged were the disturbances, breaking out again and again in spite of all efforts to suppress them that they became in the end the subject of a Parliamentary Commission the evidence and report of which are not pleasant reading and proved, when finally published, damaging to the Orange Party."

The Tory campaigns of violence in North East Ireland coincided with the periods in office of the Liberal Party: 1886, 1893, 1912-14.

In 1912 the Tory Leaders F. E. Smith, Bonar Law and Austin Chamberlain went to Belfast and inflamed the Orangemen against Home Rule:

"There is no length to which Ulster would not be entitled to go, however desperate and unconstitutional," — F. E. Smith at Liverpool.

"If this Home Rule Bill should by any chance be forced through then Heaven help the Government that tried to enforce it", — Bonar Law at Larne, Co. Antrim.

The real inspiration behind the Tory Campaign was not any concern for the Orangemen but to destroy the Liberal Party. Mr. Bonar Law declared: "We shall use any means to deprive them of power". Later in 1921 the Orange leader, Sir Edward Carson, declared in the House of Lords: "I was in earnest. I was not playing politics. I believed all this.

What a fool I was: I was only a puppet and so was Ulster and so was Ireland in the political game that was to get the Conservative Party into power".

The result of all this conspiracy intrigue and deceit was the establishment of the Ulster Volunteers by the Orangemen to oppose Home Rule, and even a mutiny in the British Army in 1914.

Thus, the Protestant and Presbyterian minority in Ireland were used for many years as pawns in a sordid struggle for power between two English parties.

The minority in Ireland were incited and armed against the national will.

Labour Organised

During the last decade of the 19th century and the first two decades of the 20th, the workers of Ireland including those of Dublin and Belfast were organised by James Connolly and James Larkin. In Dublin in August 1913 Larkin directed a tramworkers strike, during which a public meeting of strikers was brutally attacked by police and three people were killed.

A federation of 400 Dublin employers refused employment to members of the Irish Transport and General Workers Union. English and continental organisations sent funds and food to relieve the distress of the 24,000 unemployed. At the time the housing conditions in Dublin were the worst in Europe and there were in the city 21,000 families each living in only one room. Early in 1914 the strike ended in failure, but a workers militia known as the Irish Citizens Army was formed under James Connolly's command.

In November 1913 the Irish Volunteers were formed in Dublin "to secure and maintain the rights and liberties common to all the people of Ireland without distinction of creed, class or politics". The Irish Volunteers later became known as the Irish Republican Army, and they and the Irish Citizen Army and Sinn Fein (a national organisation founded in 1905 whose name means "ourselves") were soon to play important roles in the nation's lives.

Other organisations which had a big impact were Cumann na mBan, Na Fianna Eireann, Republican Girl Scouts, the Gaelic Atheltic Association, founded in 1884 to foster Irish games and the Gaelic League founded in 1893 to promote the restoration of the Irish language which had declined greatly after the Great Famine of 1845-47.

In 1841 Ireland had over 8,175,000 people, most of whom spoke Irish as their everyday language. By 1851 the figure should have been 9,000,000 but had dropped to 6,500,000 because between 1846 and 1851 a million people emigrated and a million and a half perished of hunger and disease. The emigration to America and other parts of the English speaking world had begun and it still continues.

The Great Famine was the result of English laisez faire economic policies and deliberate neglect, combined with the failure of the potato crop. A fuedal system of landlordism operated, but by 1903 this had largely been broken as a result of militant agitation known as the Land War.

Republic Proclaimed

The Irish Republic was proclaimed in arms on Easter Monday, April 24th 1916. One thousand members of the Irish Volunteers and Irish Citizen Army seized the General Post Office and other buildings in Dublin. They issued a proclamation declaring Ireland to be "A Sovereign Independent State": guaranteed "religious and civil liberty, equal rights and equal opportunities" to all Citizens of Ireland; and set up a Provisional Government of seven men.

Patrick H. Pearse, a 36-year-old lawyer and school-teacher was Commander-in-Chief of the Republican Forces and President of the Provisional Government.

James Connolly, the 47-year-old Labour leader and Commandant of the Citizen Army, commanded the Dublin Division. Republican forces also attacked British garrisons in a small number of country areas.

After six days of severe fighting in which the English suffered heavy casualties, the insurgents were hopelessly outnumbered and surrendered conditionally to save the people of Dublin from being slaughtered.

Sixteen of the leaders, including Pearse and Connolly, were tried by courtmartial and executed. Hundreds were jailed while thousands were deported to camps in Britain. The executions caused a wave of indignation throughout Ireland and abroad, although John Redmond, leader of the Irish Parliamentary Party in Westminster condemned the Rising.

People Endorse Republic

The Republic was approved by the Irish people in 1918. In the British General Election held in December of that year Sinn Fein won 73 of the 105 Irish seats and the Parliamentary Party was eclipsed. The Sinn Fein candidates were pledged not to attend the Westminster Parliament but to convene an Irish Parliament in Dublin.

On January 21, 1919, Dail Eireann was established. This Parliament of the democratically elected representatives of the Irish people ratified the establishment of the Irish Republic and declared the independence of the nation.

They also adopted a democratic programme in which they declared their desire to have Ireland "ruled in accordance with the principles of Liberty, Equality and Justice for all".

A Cabinet was appointed, courts established and the Irish Republican Army (IRA) brought under the control of the Minister for Defence.

In September 1919 a British military proclamation declared Dail Eireann to be an illegal Body. All Republican papers were suppressed and English unleashed a reign of terror which continued until the signing of a truce in July, 1921.

A British Labour Commission reported in December, 1920 that "the atmosphere or terrorism which had been created and the provocative behaviour of the armed servants of the Crown, quite apart from specific "reprisals" are sufficient in themselves to arouse in our hearts feelings of the deepest horror and shame".

The IRA fought back against the British terror, using Guerilla tactics which were afterwards adopted in other countries fighting for freedom. In the Local Government elections of 1920 Sinn Fein obtained 80% of the seats winning a majority in 28 of the 32 counties.

Government of Ireland Act

England's answer to the risen people of Ireland was the Government of Ireland Act passed in Westminster in December 1920.

This set up two subordinate parliaments in Ireland : one for the siá counties, another for 26 counties. The Six Counties remained under direct British control with 80% of the powers of government reserved to Westminster. The 26 counties got Dominion status.

No Irishman from any part of Ireland voted for this statute, for even the Unionists (the 22% of the population of Ireland who approved of union with England and most of whom lived within 50 km of Belfast) did not want their country to be divided. Carson, the Unionist leader, said: 'I know Ulster does not want this Parliament". But when the Six County Parliament and Government were set up they accepted partition.

The scheme for partition government was also put to Dáil Éireann representatives in London in December, 1921, and under a threat from English Prime Minister, Lloyd George of "immed ate and terrible war" they signed a "treaty" incorporating these terms.

The Six-County State was imposed on the Irish people by the might of British Arms. The 26-County-State was imposed by a Civil War against Republicans, who have never accepted the partition system.

An Artificial Boundary

The Six County area (called Northern Ireland) cut off from the other 26 counties (called the Irish Free State) had never existed before as an entity in history or politics or economics.

Containing six of the nine Counties of Ulster, it was a completely artificial area, made by drawing an artifical boundary and creatng an artificial Unionist majority. Even Lloyd George called it a "frontier based neither upon natural features nor broad geographical considerations".

In four and a half counties out of the six there was, and still is, a majority for independence. The numerical strength of the Unionists in the other one and a half counties enabled them to outvote permanently the Nationalist majority in the other four and a half counties.

Why Six Counties?

The 70,000 Unionists in Counties Cavan, Monaghan and Donegal, were annoyed at being forced to live under a Dublin Government. But these counties also contained 260,000 Republicans and Nationalists, and this explains why Britain would not keep the whole of Ulster in the United Kingdom.

The inclusion of Donegal, Cavan and Monaghan would "reduce our majority to such a level that no sane man would undertake to carry on Parliament with it" said Sir James Craig, first Prime Minister of the Six Counties.

The Gerrymander

Despite their 66%-34% majority in the new Six County State the Unionists immediately embarked on a systemmatic denial to the Nationalists of their proper franchise. The British Government connived at this despite its responsibility under Section 5 of the 1920 Act to protect min-

ority rights. In 1922 the local Government electoral divisions were altered to take from the Nationalist majorites their control of the local councils.

In the elections of 1923 fifteen public bodies, including Derry Corporation, Enniskillen Borough Council, Armagh and Omagh Urban Councils, Tyrone and Fermanagh County Councils and nine rural councils which had nationalist majorities were either abolished altogether or turned into Councils with Unionist control.

This gerrymander (or manipulation of electoral boundaries) ensured that where Nationalists were in a majority they could secure only a minority of the respresentation. With the control of local government went the giving of employment, building and allocation of houses and the spending of public money on health, education and amenities.

In 1929, the boundaries of the Six County Parliamentary divisions were also gerrymandered and P.R. in elections to the Six County (Stormont) Parliament was abolished.

Partition itself is a giant gerrymander — by a major boundary manipulation, a minority of the whole of Ireland was given a veto on the majority's right to decide policy for the nation.

Special Constabulary

Between 1920 and 1922 the Nationalist minority in Belfast were attacked by Orange mobs in a series of ferocious pogroms. Whole streets were burned out, business houses and shops looted and thousands of Roman Catholic workers driven from the shipyards. Over 400 people were killed. The British Army provided no protection for the Nationalists, but instead raided their homes for "illegal weapons" while, from the ranks of the Orange mobs, the Ulster Special Constabulary was recruited.

In March 1922 Stormont had at its disposal 13 battalions of British troops and 50,000 men in a number of different police forces who were supplied with rifles by the British Government. The Ulster Special Constabulary, a part time force consisting entirely of Protestants, was recruited from the Ulster Volunteers to supplement the Royal Ulster Constabulary. (The term Protestant is now generally used to include both Presbyterians and Anglicans).

"It is from the ranks of the Loyal Orange Institution that our splendid Specials have come" — Sir James Craig. The USC were used to frighten Westminster off making any adjustments in the new boundary between the Six and the 26 counties and to cow and terrorise the National minority.

Between 1920 and 1970 the strength of the USC varied from 10,000 to 50,000 and they were for the most part fanatically anti-Catholic.

Special Powers Act

The Civil Authorities (Special Powers) Act was passed in 1922 and it is still part of the law of the Six Counties. It confers on the police and military exceptional powers of search, arrest, and detention, imprisonment without trial (internment) suspension of coroners inquests, prohibition of meetings, banning of publications; confiscation of property, flogging of prisoners and denies to those accused under the Act any claim to trial by jury. A person held in custody can even be deprived of his right

to see or communicate with his legal adviser. Regulation No. 22B says:

"A person examined under this regulation shall not be excused from answering any question on the ground that the answer thereto may criminate or tend to criminate himself."

In 1935 a British Civil Liberties Commission described this law as "contrary to the fundamental principles of democratic government".

This legislation and the conditions in the Six Counties have often been quoted by Ministers of the South African Government to justify their own repressive legislation. (See "South Africa and the Rule of Law" published by the South African Department of Foreign Affairs, April 1968, where extensive quotes from the Special Powers Act, 1922, justify the South African Government's own draconian laws.

In fact, Mr Vorster is on record as saying that his detention legislation was less severe than the Special Powers Act of 1922 !

Discrimination

Discrimination in employment and housing has been used on a large scale by the Unionists against the non Unionist population. The reason behind this is to ensure that the Nationalist minority never rises above 35% of the population and that where Nationalists are in the majority they are deprived of work and forced to emigrate. Here are two significant quotations:

Sir Basil Brooke, Stormont Minister for Agriculture and later Prime Minister, in 1933:—

"There are a great number of Protestants and Orangemen who employ Roman Catholics. I can speak freely on this subject as I have not a Roman Catholic about my own place. I appreciate the great difficulty experienced by some in procuring suitable Protestant labour, but I would point out that Roman Catholics are endeavouring to get in everywhere. I appeal to Loyalists, therefore, wherever it is possible, to employ good Protestant lasses and lads."

Mr. E. C. Ferguson, Unionist MP for Enniskillen, in 1948 —

"The Nationalist majority in Co Fermanagh, notwithstanding a reduction of 336 in the year, stands at 3,604. I would ask the meeting to authorise their executive to take whatever steps, however drastic, to liquidate this Nationalist majority."

Every conceivable effort has, in fact, been made to "liquidate" the Nationalists. Figures taken from the Fermanagh County Council paysheets in April 1969 show that in this county, which has a Roman Catholic majority, 338 Local Government employees were Protestants and only 32 were Roman Catholics.

People are not deprived of jobs and homes just because of their religion, but because most Roman Catholics are Nationalists.

Once the electoral boundaries had been manipulated and the Unionist minority had assumed control of the County Council, full scale discrimination was the order of the day. In 1969 there were 74 school busmen employed by Fermanagh Education Committee. **THREE** of them were Catholics.

CHAPTER I

1 Meeting the challenge

In August 1969, nine people were killed, more than 500 houses gutted, and many thousands of men, women and children fled south of the border, as a result of Unionist mobs, led by the forces of "law and order", attacking nationalist ghetto areas of Belfast and Derry.

The 1969 pogrom was different in some ways from the previous attempts at extermination: in August 1969, millions of people throughout the world saw with their own eyes, through the medium of television, the ghastly things which were taking place in Ireland.

Secondly, and significantly as shall be shown, the traditional defenders of the nationalist people were unarmed and unorganised. Of all occasions when Unionist extremists ran amok, there was no reason on this occasion for the absence of defence.

On June 27, 1966 two young Catholic barmen were murdered in cold blood, murders for which some men claiming to be members of the Ulster Volunteer Force are serving 20 year jail sentences (ironically alongside Republicans in Long Kesh Concentration Camp). From the start of the Civil Rights Campaign there was a series of attempted pogroms led by the R.U.C. and B. Specials.

From the first Civil Rights march in Dungannon on August 24, 1968, which was prevented from entering the Market Square by the R.U.C. at the instigation of the Orange bosses, through Derry on October 5, an occasion already well documented which put the historic city on the lips of the world for all time. Dungannon on November 23, Armagh, November 30, the Peoples' Democracy march in January 1969 and The Burntollet Ambush (organised by the ubiquitos Orange bosses as was subsequently shown), and back again to Derry and the Bogside on January 4-5 — it must have been clear to anyone with a modicum of sense that major violence on the nationalist areas was at hand.

To reinforce these warning signs there was more police and B. Special violence in Derry in April 1969, (in which Samuel Devenney was murdered by members of R.U.C.), the U.V.F. expertly blasted the electricity substation at Castlereagh on March 30 (damage of £500,000), electric pylons at Kilmore on April 20 and on April 21 the outlet from the Silent Valley Reservoir which supplied most of Belfast's water.

The build-up to August 1969 continued unabated during May, June, and July, with trouble in Derry, Belfast and Dungiven. One of the worst spots was Unity Walk Flats which were attacked several times in July.

But when the inevitable happened in Belfast's beleagured nationalist ghettos on August 14, 1969, the victims to their horror found themselves without protection from the once source they hitherto trusted — the Irish Republican Army. When the people sought the weapons they needed to defend themselves, these weapons were not available, apart from a few

old guns which were quickly put to use and at least saved an even greater massacre.

The state of the I.R.A., not only in Belfast but throughout the Six Counties, was a logical result of the policy pursued by the then leadership — or a majority of them — throughout the mid-sixties. These people had gained power in the movement by various means, including ballot-rigging, and at the instigation of former members of the Communist Party of Great Britain who came back to Ireland with the intention of setting up an ultra-left wing front based on the Republican Movement, had diverted the movement to political and social agitation to the almost total exclusion of the traditional military role.

In the months prior to the August pogrom in 1969, these people had been warned many times of the impending all-out attack on nationalist areas. Loyal Republicans from the Six Counties pleaded many times to the then politically orientated Army Council to provide the necessary arms for defence, but all to no avail.

These events led to the so-called split in the Republican Movement. It was inevitable that clear-thinking Belfast Republicans would reconsider their position vis-a-vis the leadership which had failed the nationalist people. Many men who had left the movement, or in some cases had been 'eased out', rejoined.

On September 22, 1969, the Belfast Brigade staff was reorganised and additional members taken on. At the same time, the Brigade dissaffiliated from the Army Council.

The "split" was formalised throughout the country in December 1969, when a majority of delegates at an unrepresentative extra-ordinary Army Convention voted to recognise the legitimacy of Leinster House, Stormont and Westminster. The Convention had also been called to authorise the formation of a National Liberation Front (NLF) of the IRA and several ultra-left-wing organisations. The concept of the NLF also entertained the taking over of existing organisations (such as Conradh na Gaeilge) in various facets of the national struggle.

The remaining delegates at this convention reconvened in special Convention and set up a provisional Army Council, loyal to the principles and the constitution of the Irish Republican Army. (Pearse, Clarke and McDiarmuida had adopted similar procedure when John Redmond took control of the Irish Volunteers in 1915).

In January 1970 at the Sinn Fein Ard-Fheis in the Interncontinental Hotel (now new Jury's Hotel) when a proposal to recognise the three parliaments failed to gain the necessary two-thirds majority (to amend the Sinn Fein constitution), and when an attempt was made to get a vote of confidence for the NLF leadership, a large section of the delegates walked out.

Later that evening they announced the formation of a Caretaker Executive of Sinn Fein, loyal to Republican principles.

In statements outlining the reasons for the cleavage in the movement, five main points were made :

(1) Recognition of Westminister, Stormont and Leinster House;
(2) Extreme socialism leading to dictatorship;
(3) Internal methods being used in the Movement;
(4) Failure to give maximum possible defence in Belfast and other Northern areas in August 1969;

(5) Campaigning to retain Stormont instead of seeking its abolition.

Inside the Movement, it was resolved that never again would the events of August 1969 occur, and the vast work of again building up the Republican Movement began. Within a very short time it was obvious that the vast majority of Republicans all over the country, and in England, Australia and the United States of America, supported the Movement and many who had being inactive for some years, rejoined to take part in the task of once and for all ridding Ireland of the curse of British Imperialism in its various forms.

Both the political and military wings of the Movement regrouped, organised and planned for the future. The first priority was defence of the beleagured nationalist people in the north, and to this end the Army was bending its complete energies.

Recruits flowed in, were trained, organised and equipped with newly acquired arms. Since August 1969, British troops were on the streets of Belfast, Derry and all other Six County towns and villages, nominally in the role of "peace-keepers" between the Nationalist and Loyalist communities.

In February 1970 the first edition of An Phoblacht, the organ of the Republican Movement, was published. Immediately, the new paper was successful, and is now a weekly with sales of over 35,000 each issue. Through An Phoblacht the aims, objects, achievements and detailed policies of the Republican Movement were published along with news of the vast re-organisation programme which had been embarked upon.

The following editorial from the March 1970 issue of An Phoblacht accurately charted the course to be followed by the reorganised Republican Movement, as well as clearly stating the current situation and background to the Irish struggle :

"The foremost aims of the Republican Movement are the establishment of a 32-County Democratic Socialist Republic based on the 1916 Proclamation, to end foreign rule in Ireland, and the restoration of the Irish language and Irish culture to a position of strength, and to promote a social order based on justice and Christian principles which will give everyone a just share of the Nation's wealth.

"Though there is a general acceptance of these ultimate aims there is a wide distance between their acceptance and their actual achievement.

"For centuries Ireland has been an expoited dependency of England, remaining underdeveloped and a source of cheap food and cheap labour for her growing industry. In the end analysis the results were depopulation and poverty for Ireland. As a gesture of independence some industries were built in the '20s and '30s which still serve as a symbol today of what could have been done if we had real and effective control of our own affairs.

"But the partition arrangement of Lloyd George and his Government has kept us weak and divided and we are still a dependency of England. Republicans always maintained that the "Treaty" arrangements would not work and would only frustrate our national aspirations.

"With the Trade Agreement of 1938 all attempts to build upon the "stepping stone" of he Irish Free State were abandoned. Such attempts could only lead to an inevitable confrontation with Westminster. In fact, the options open to the Free State politicians were: complete acceptance of a subordinate role under the Government of Ireland Act and the

"Treaty"; a vigorous attempt to use the "stepping stone", leading to a return to the Republican position of July 1921; or an attempt to steer a middle course, which was, of course, an untenable position.

"The last course was the one followed. This was made possible by tinkering with constitutions and the symbols and trappings of freedom. Even the Irish language itself was used in an attempt to sell what was in fact spurious English made product as a genuine Irish one.

"A Dáil, a Senate, Uachtarán, etc. were in themselves just so many meaningless words, when emigration took our youth to the sweat shops and the armies of other countries, when Irish capitalists were free to export capital to London to get a higher (personal) reward.

"All the time, of course, 30 per cent of our people in the 6-Counties were being similarly exploited, but here sectarian bigotry was an additional factor. Bigotry and hatred were deliberately encouraged by the masters in Westminister.

"This divided the Protestant and Catholic workers. It ensured that Protestant workers voted for the conservative Unionist Party and left the way clear for the forces of rampan Capitalism which exploited Catholic and Protestant alike.

"Since October, 1968, however, the counter offensive is on in the North. Under the universally accepted banner of Civil Rights the common people are demanding their place in the sun once more. As was pointed out in the first issue of this paper, one of the factors contributing to the success of the Civil Rights Movement has been the broadly based platform on which it was established.

"Any attempt, such as we saw at the recent annual conference of NICRA, to take it over by extreme socialist elements, must be seen as undesirable, since it would narrow its face and considerably lessen its chances of success. The same holds true for any group which might attempt to get control of the Civil Rights Movement.

"The untenable "Treaty" position has in fact been abandoned in the 26 Counties for the past few years, but of course this is not admitted in so many words. The return to the Union position is in full swing. The takeover of our resources, land, industry and trade, by foreign speculators, the Free Trade Area Agreement, the abandoment of any semblance of an independent foreign policy and the willy-nilly following of England into the EEC are all evidence of the return to the Union position.

"The latest of all is the canvassing of a "federal solution" to the "Irish problem" by Mr. Jack Lynch and his cohorts. The "stepping stone", to the Republic has become a stepping stone back into the United Kingdom. Thus we stand at the beginning of the '70s.

"If the Republican movement is to achieve its objectives it must be clear not only about them but also about its methods. One of the more obvious lessons of the efforts of the past few decades is that our movement must be based on the common working people of Ireland, North and South, Catholic and Dissenter as Wolfe Tone put it. Any attempt to end British occupation and exploitation no matter how heroic, stands little chance of success today unless it is firmly based on the common people. An immense task of education lies ahead for the leadership and rank-and-file of the Movement.

"The essential relationship between our domindtion by England a failure to build an independent economy and unemployment, emigration and

poor living standards must be explained. The importance of the spiritual motivation which an expansion of the Gaeltacht and the restoration of Irish would give must also be explained. The struggle is to make the Irish people masters of their own country, ruling and developing their country, exploiting its resources in their own interest and not in the interests of any capitalist class, native or foreign.

"To achieve a broadly based movement it will be necessary to wage a struggle, not just at the national level but at the local level also. This involves organising the people in their own interests and in defence of their rights. Demands for Civil Rights, better housing, division of large estates, restoration of fishing rights, the setting up of credit unions and worker-owned co-operatives, these are all elements in the building of a movement of the people. What can be achieved within the present structures will, of course, be limited, and only the achievement of national independence will really make us masters of our own destinies.

"It is unlikely that this ultimate objective will be achieved without a final confrontation with the forces of English imperialism and neo-colonialism."

The first Easter message from the Provisional Army Council of the Irish Republican Army also stressed the path to be followed.

"Our aim is to make the Irish people masters of their own destinies, controlling all the wealth of the nation, material, and spiritual in an independent Republic of 32 counties, in which Protestants, Catholics and Dissenters will have equal rights. The free Republic we seek will not be won by recognition of and participation in the institutions which were set up by England to overthrow the Republic but by leading the Irish people in the building of an alternative 32-County Parliament. We say also that Irish Freedom will not be won by involvement with an international movement of extreme socialism.

"At the moment the greatest need of all is for assisting our people in the Six Counties in their demands for Civil Rights. Not only that, but we must insure adequate protection and defence for them so that they are not left at the mercy of Crown Forces or sectarian bigots.

"In the struggle for Civil Rights the abolition of Stormont would, as an interim measure, be a step forward. It would make much easier the achievement of full rights and would bring us into direct confrontation with Westminister, English Imperialism, both in its old and new forms, has been the root cause of Ireland's ills.

"The national objective of ending English rule in Ireland has been obscured since 1921. The removal of Stormont would make the issue much clearer, would considerably raise the morale of our people in the North and would make much easier the task of rallying all the Irish people for a final assault on the forces of Imperialism and neo-colonialism.

"One of the biggest factors in the success to date of the Civil Rights movement has been its broad democratic base. It is to be hoped that the present unsatisfactory position in the movement will be rectified by the members themselves and the broad base of the movement restored.

"The Provisional Army Council confidently calls for the support of the Irish people at home and in exile for its efforts to achieve Irish freedom. At the graves of our martyred dead we call for a dedication to Republican objectives and principles and for a pledge of unstinted support for our efforts.

"In conclusion, the Provisional Army Council assures the Irish people that no opportunity of furthering the cause of Irish freedom will be lost and that at the opportune time appropriate action will be taken to achieve full national independence".

The Republican Movement was at no time unaware of the real purpose and potential of the thousands of British troops on Irish roads and streets in the Six Counties. Indeed time and again Republicans warned Loyalists that the real aim of Crown Forces was to keep the working classes in subjugation. Neither side would be exempt. And so it was proven, as Loyalists have found out on many occasions during the past couple of years.

Indeed, 'trouble' between the "security" forces and Loyalists which has flared up many times over the past four years, started as early as October 1969.

On Friday, October 10, the Hunt Report on the R.U.C. was published officially (the main points had already been leaked in THE IRISH PRESS some weeks previously). The effect was to enrage loyalists and serious rioting broke out on the Shankill Road. Loyalists were completely against disarming of their "own" police force, as recommended by Hunt.

The first R.U.C. man to die on the northern troubles was Constable Victor Arbuckle, killed by a UVF bullet on the Shankill Road that night.

Two Loyalists were then killed, and many wounded, when the British Army opened fire in return. At least 22 soldiers were injured.

2 The First Battles

In April 1970, serious rioting, brought on by Orange provocation, broke out in Ballymurphy, a nationalist working class ghetto, in the south-west outskirts of Belfast. Though not fully reorganised the I.R.A. was in danger of being forced into direct confrontation with the British Army who had been sent in by General Freeland to restore "law and order".

As was their wont the Unionist politicians and press, and their supporters and lackeys in both Ireland and England, laid the blame for the rioting on the I.R.A., but in fact, units of the I.R.A. were kept at full stretch to try and end the rioting, which was mainly the work of youths venting their anger and frustrations brought on by generations of living in squalor and constant provocation. The memory of 1969 was still fresh in their minds.

General Freeland entered the scene in no uncertain manner at this time. Blaming the trouble on "sinister people" (i.e. "Republican terrorists"), he sent in 600 soldiers to restore the "Queen's writ" and bravely announced that in future his troops might be instructed to "shoot to kill".

The I.R.A. immediately warned Freeland and the British government that such action would not go unheeded :

"In the event of this happening, retalitory action will be taken by our units in occupied Ireland.

"The trouble in Belfast last week arose solely because of the coatrailing actions of Orange bands who were allowed to march and play in areas where the local people objected, and the subsequent clashes with British troops occured when the residents of Ballymurphy defended their homes and families against the brutal attack of berserk troops who indiscriminately used large quantities of C.S. gas against old people, women and children, alike."

The statement added that, *"the full resources of the Provisional Army Council will be used to protect our people against attack from both Crown forces and sectarian bigots"*.

If the April trouble showed anything, it was that in spite of pious talk by politicians of many hues, on both sides of the channel, nothing had changed. Nationalist ghetto-dwellers were still second-class citizens and loyalists could still do almost as they pleased. In these cases the full force of the British Army would be employed to ensure freedom of action for Orange provocation; if nationalists objected, the jackboot would discipline them.

On May 12, 1970 a press conference in Wynns Hotel, Dublin was addressed by 12 representatives of Defence Committees in the Six Counties. These men called for urgent help from Irishmen everywhere and expressed alarm with recent statements by Mr. Jack Lynch, head of the Fianna Fail government in Dublin.

Mr. Lynch, after meetings with his English masters, had made it clear

that he would not use the Free State army, under any circumstances to protect the nationalist minority in Occupied Ireland, and that he would not allow defensive equipment to be sent into the north — he had even refused to allow gas masks to be sent to the people of the Bogside the previous August. As a result of the massive amounts of C.S. gas used by British Crown Forces, some children and old people had died, and hundreds more having been damaged for life. Mr. Lynch decided to stand idly by.

The Defence Committee representatives demanded answers to the following questions :

(1) What will Mr. Lynch's policy be, in the event of further outbreaks trouble, on a greater scale perhaps than last year?
(2) Will Mr. Lynch and his Government stand idly by and see people slaughtered and their homes destroyed?
(3) What alternative to defensive measures does Mr. Lynch have to offer?
(4) Will Mr. Lynch now tell us that he will accept full responsibility for any loss of life or damage to property?
(5) Will Mr. Lynch tell the Irish people, plainly and clearly, that he is abandoning the people of the North to the violence of sectarian bigots and the berserk attacks of Crown Forces?

The questions were in reality more than just questions: they told in short the story of the anguish and terror of the nationalist minority at that time. One of the representatives, Hugh McAteer, asked what they should do, if attacked — be slaughtered, or fight back? "With what? Stones and bottles and petrol bombs against automatic weapons", he asked.

The long foreseen attack soon came. On June 27, 1970, Orange mobs launched an all-out attack on St. Matthews Church, Ballymacarret in East Belfast, using among other weapons, petrol bombs. In this area of Belfast 6,000 nationalists are surrounded by more than 60,000 loyalists, and are cut off from the rest of the city.

When the 'peace-keeping' British Army was asked by an M.P. to protect the church, they said they were too busy elsewhere. Earlier in the day there had been trouble in the vicinity of the church, but at about 11 p.m., under cover of snipers, loyalist groups set out in earnest to burn the church. The local unit of the I.R.A. were ready and a battle continued until 5 a.m.

When the firing ceased two loyalists lay dead, several more died later (two on June 28, and others over the following months) from injuries received, and one I.R.A. auxiliary, Henry McIlhone, died in the battle. The sexton's house was burned to the ground, but the church was saved and the U.V.F., who probably master-minded this operation, had been taught the lesson that there would be no repeat of August 1969. No true Republican desires to shoot another Irishman of any religion, but defensive action was necesessary in this case.

If this defensive action had not been taken so successfully, not only would the Catholic church in Ballymacarret have been burned, but many houses in the minute nationalist ghetto would have been destroyed, just as happened in August 1969 in Bombay Street and other areas. Many lives would have been lost too.

That same day, June 27, had seen a lot of trouble in other areas of Bel-

fast, on the Springfield Road, in Ballymurpy, and shooting in the Ardoyne in which three Protestants died. At the end of the day a total of six people had died, with more than 270 injured. Damage in the troubles was estimated at £500,000.

The Tory Party had just come to power in the British elections at this time and the new Home Secretary, Reginald Maudling visited Belfast. On July 3, a few days after Maudling's return to London, the R.U.C. and British Army soldiers in two land-rovers searched number 24 Balkan Street in the Lr. Falls Road area where they uncovered arms being stored there by the N.L.F. The N.L.F., decided to take on the British Army in retaliation for this and a battle ensued. The I.R.A. were not involved in the early stages, but a unit had to go to the aid of besieged N.L.F. men while another unit set off explosions in Andersontown to try and draw off British soldiers.

General Freeland placed the whole Lr. Falls under curfew, and a house-to-house search was carried out. For about 36 hours the men, women and children came face to face with a new terror — that of being kept in the mailed-fist of naked British aggression. As the unarmed populace were beaten back, street by street, two Irishmen and a Polish-born London postman were shot to death, a third crushed by a British Army vehicle, the area was saturated by C.S. gas and 334 people were arrested. In this manner the peace was kept, by the forces of "law and order".

In the British Army searches, homes were entered at gun-point, doors broken down, floors ripped up, fireplaces torn out, money stolen, religious objects broken, and men, women and children beaten, thumped and terrorised for 36 hours.

Other searches were carried out in Ballymurphy, Ardoyne, Kashmir Road, and in Ballymacarret where telephonic communications were cut off before the Crown Forces moved in to isolate and search the area.

The new B. Specials, now called the Ulster Defence Regiment — directly under British Army control, were used in this weekend of terror, in the same positions as before and using the same methods.

And to reinforce that nothing had really changed, that it was merely a case of direct suppression by the British Government and Army added to 50 years of Stormont suppression, there was the spectacle of Captain John Brooke, son of the illustrious Lord Brookeborough, making an excursion through the area on the back of a British Army Landrover, grinning ecstatically and obviously very pleased at the Crown victory over the rebels.

About this time also, Stormont brought in a new law which laid down a mandatory six month prison sentence for "disorderly behaviour" — this new law would cover people present, but not participating in a riot. One of the first victims of this new "law" was Frank Gogarty, former chairman of the Civil Rights Association who was arrested while merely recording on a taperecorder the sounds of a disturbance on August 1.

Gogarty's crime was to shout "Stop kicking me, you British bastard", when he was thrown twice against a wall, thumped, kicked and thrown into a jeep. Mr. Gogarty served a six-month sentence in Crumlin Road jail.

Incidents such as these, and they numbered hundreds, indicated what the future was to be. Thousands of nationalists took the lesson and resolved to end British rule for all time.

3 Movement rebuilt

The progress made by the Republican Movement in its reorganisation programme was shown at the annual Wolfe Tone Commemoration in Bodenstown on June 14. Over 5,000 people marched in glorious sunshine to the grave of the Father of Republicanism.

The oration given by Daithí Ó Conaill has since proved to be a most prophetic one in the light of current happenings on the political front in the occupied area — to the Unionist Party, he said — "You are digging your own grave". The text of this oration was :—

"Few sectors of Irish life have remained untouched by the events of last August. The Dublin Government has been rocked by allegations of gun-running, treason, etc. We have had the so-called "crisis debate" in Leinster House. It was a wonderful performance by the politicians. For three days and nights they talked. Men spoke who had never spoken in their parliamentary lives before. Each man had to do his bit for Ireland! The debate concluded with Mr. Lynch committing what can only be described as an act of unparalleled treachery. In summing up, Mr. Lynch declared —

"If it is because the Catholic population are in the minority in the 6 Counties, and feel that they are defenceless in the event of an attack by Unionist extremists, armed or otherwise, then the British Army and other forces of law and order have a special duty to protect them.'

"That statement will be recorded in history as a most shameful abdication of responsibility. John Redmond could not have done better.

"Acts of betrayal are nothing new to Free State politicians. Every effort to secure freedom over the past fifty years has been sabotaged by these gentlemen of power and privilege. They have sold our country to international capitalism, and they are now bent on selling Ireland to the highest European bidder. But they shall yet meet a judgement from the Irish people. They shall take their place with Redmond on the scrap-heap of Irish history.

"And now as we face the future we address ourselves to various people.

"To the British Government we say this: You stand indicted before the world for the wrong you have done to Ireland. You never had any right to be in our country and you never will. You send your troops to keep, what you call, the peace. You forget that peace must be based on justice; it cannot be founded on British bayonets. The more your troops impose their will, the nearer you bring the day of open confrontation. If you sincerely desire peace, then withdraw your armed force and the weapons of destruction you so lavishly supplied to the Stormont junta over the last fifty years. In a nutshell, get to hell out of our country; You never brought us anything but strife and war.

"To the Unionist Party let us say this: For fifty years you have reigned

supreme, bribing one half of the population and intimidating the other half. You believe in the connection with England because of the power and privilege. You have debased the Protestant religion by using it as a cloak for murder. You are about to be devoured by a political monster who masquerades under the guise of religion. You are digging your own graves.

"To the politicians of Leinster House let this be said: You have sold our country body and soul, physically and morally. You tell us that it is our duty to defend Europe but a crime to defend our own kith and kin. You led Irish soldiers to their deaths in the Congo in the name of World Peace, but you will not face the realities of a just and lasting Irish peace. You preach about law and order forgetting that law is not stronger than life or man's desire to be free. You can no longer contain the spirit which arose from the ashes of Bombay Street: You could never understand it either.

"To the Protestants of the North we say this: The man whom we honour today was of your creed. He proved that Catholic and Protestant could work together for their mutual benefit. We believe that the same can be done again. We do not ask you to renounce your religion or to forsake your way of life. We do not ask you to join the South. We simply ask you to come into the politics of the twentieth century and work with us for the creation of a New Ireland, worthy of the memory of Wolfe Tone.

"In conclusion, let us in unison affairm: We are men of one allegiance. We accept but one ideology: Republicanism.

"We beileve:

In the establishment of a National Parliament representative of the whole people of Ireland;

In an Ireland where social justice is a reality and not a political catchery;

In an Ireland where our language and culture enhance our life and are not objects of scorn and derision;

In an Ireland where past dissensions are a forgotten memory and Irish people, irrespective of creed, live in peace and prosperity."

In May a crisis developed in the Dublin Government. An I.R.P.B. statement defined the Republican attitude on May 10:—

"The current crisis in the 26 County Cabinet again highlights the most crucial issue facing the Irish people, namely, the defence of the people of the Six Counties. As it is well known, this issue arose from the barbaric attacks on the people of the North last August when nine people were killed and over 500 homes destroyed. At the time, Republicans in all parts of Ireland answered the call of the people of the Six Counties for aid, and involved themselves in preparing adequate defensive measures.

"Dissatisfaction with the then leadership of the Republican movement arose in Belfast, the North West and other parts of the country due to the lack of preparation prior to the crisis and the reluctance to pursue a vigorous realistic defensive policy in the post-August period. The situation within the movement was further aggravated by the then leadership introducing irrelevant issues such as recognising the Parliaments of Westminster, Stormont and Leinster House.

"These issues were resolved last December when a Special Army con-

vention elected a Provisional Army Council whose chief priority was the providing of realistic defensive measures for the people of the North. Irish people at home and abroad have helped in this work. Many people who were heartened by Mr. Lynch's statement of last August that he would not stand idly by and see the people in the North massacred were sadly disillusioned by subsequent statements that smacked of political hypocrisy rather than a real concern for the people of the North.

"It is now apparent that some of Mr. Lynch's colleagues did not agree with his policy. It is alleged that an effort was made to import arms. If this is true and the arms were intended for the defence of the people in the North, then we can understand the actions of the men concerned, but we wish to make it quite clear that the Provisional Army Council had no connection with the people mentioned, nor are we aware of their motives, whether long term or short term.

"Press allegations have been made that the Provisional Army Council has been helped by Mr. Blaney in the form of Finance, arms and training facilities. These allegations are completely untrue and are hereby repudiated. The Provisional Army Council has relied solely on the support of loyal Republicans and Irish people generally, both at home and abroad. Furthermore the false statement that units of the IRA under the Provisional Army Council were promoting sectarian rioting in Ballymurphy, Belfast, was again repeated in the press when, in fact, the contrary was the case.

"It should be further noted that (1) the Provisional Army Council has no connection with "The Voice of the North"; (2) it has not been clarified how the report of alleged arms importation reached Dublin and what part British services played in this; (3) an internal Cabinet crisis in Dublin which is entirely unconnected with the Republican movement may well be utilised to lend justification to the internment, with or without trial, of Republicans, North and South of the Border.

"We ask the Irish people to be on guard against any such development".

An important development in June 1970 was the publication of "Republican News" by the late Jimmy Steele and Hugh McAteer, for Belfast Brigade IRA. Then a monthly, it is now a thriving weekly. Later, Derry Brigade launched the "Volunteer", also still thriving. In 1972 an all-Irish magazine "LEAS" was launched.

By November 1970, the position of the leadership of the Republican Movement had been regularised. In An Phoblacht of that month a statement from the IPRB (issue on September 29) announced that the Provisional Army Executive and Council had gone out of office and delegates representing units in all 32 counties to an Army Convention, held in accordance with the provisions of the Constitution of Óglaigh na hÉireann had elected a regular Executive and Council.

The claims of another group (N.L.F.), who had previously decided to recognise the London, Dublin and Belfast parliaments, to the honoured name of the I.R.A. were repudiated by the 1970 Convention.

The statement continued: "The convention decided to continue and intensify the provision of defensive measures for the people of the Six Counties. It re-affirmed that British rule is not acceptable in Ireland under any circumstances and that every effort must be made to bring about its downfall. The ultimate objective of a Democratic Socialist Republic based

on the proclamation of 1916 stands and no opportunity will be lost towards achieving that end.

"With the regularisation of the leadership position, the assembled delegates reiterated that there is one Irish Republican Army only — that which gives its allegiance to the 32-County Republic of 1916 and 1919 and repudiates Westminister, Stormont and Leinster House.

"In conclusion the Convention called with confidence for the support of all Irish people — Protestant, Catholic and Dissenter — at home and in exile towards the realisation of the freedom, prosperity and happiness of our country".

In October also the Ardfheis of Sinn Féin was held in Liberty Hall, Dublin on the 25th. The Caretaker Executive went out of office and a new Ard-Chomhairle was elected, with Ruairí Ó Brádaigh as President.

The massive show of strength at the ArdFheis indicated beyond all doubt where the allegiances of the vast majority of Republicans lay. No longer could there be any doubt that an overwhelming majority of Republicans had recognised in the rebuilt Republican Movement the true successors of the men of 1916 and 1919.

4 Collaboration

While people were still being killed, injured and terrorised either by sectarian thugs or the mighty British Army in the north, and even before many of the dead had grown cold in their graves, it was becoming very apparent in the south just what Mr. Jack Lynch really meant in August 1969, when he proclaimed he "would not stand idly by".

He was **not** standing "idly by", and already by November 1970 many Republicans had been jailed in the 26-Counties. Searches of homes, surveillance by the Special Branch and all kinds of police state intimidation and harrassment were in full swing. Mr. Lynch had already been summoned to his masters, in Whitehall, of course.

On November 14, a group of 100 Belfast women handed in a letter of protest to Mr. Lynch, demanding the release of jailed Republicans, and the return of captured weapons.

Two days later (November 16) eight Belfast men, arrested in Coolock, Dublin, were sentenced at Howth Court to one month's imprisonment on firearms charges.

Collaboration with the "lawful authorities" was also rife in the north (and had been since 1969, when Bishop Philbin personally **ordered** the removal of the barricades). Despite all that had happened since August 1969, and all that went before for more than 50 years, the Crown was able to find willing dupes on the non-Unionist side.

The duplicity of the Roman Catholic Hierarchy and its lackeys can be shown in many ways but the following example will suffice. Towards the end of July, 1970 Canon Pádraig Murphy, Fr. Patrick Toner, Mr. Tom Conaty (a Belfast Catholic businessman and member of the Chamber of Commerce, who was and still is Chairman of the Central Citizens Defence Committee) entertained leading members of the Republican Movement to tea, in Belfast.

Fr. Toner was personal secretary to His Lordship, Dr. Philbin and along with his fellow-hosts, heaped lavish praise on the IRA for the defence of St. Matthews Church, Ballymacarret, and other Catholic Church property.

A little later, on November 16, a full-page advertisement appeared in the "Irish News", under the name of the C.C.D.C., and with the heading: STOP, STOP, STOP. The message was that the IRA was to blame for street violence and other disorders, which were now a daily feature of life.

In making this unfounded allegation, an element in the C.C.D.C. had allied themselves with Faulkner, Craig, Chichester-Clark, Peacocke (head of the RUC), the Tory press, and other such worthies.

A long reply from the IRA, on November 23, set the record straight. We reprint it here, as many people were never given the opportunity of reading it in full:—

"It has become commonplace to blame the Irish Republican Army (formerly Provisional Army Council) for every disturbance, street demonstation and act of violence that occurs in the Six Counties. From Mr. Peacocke, then Inspector-General of the R.U.C. in March 1969 to Major Chichester-Clark in August of that year, through all the anonymous accusers ever since to Mr. Faulkner in August last the list of charges levelled has been long and tiresome. Some of the accusations have been more than adequately disproved by subsequent events, but it is surprising to find the Belfast Central Citizens' Defence Committee appearing to join in the chorus (ref. full-page advertisement in "Irish News" of November 18).

"Much of the C.C.D.C. statement is a fairly correct analysis of the grievances and frustrations of the people but when it comes to apportioning blame for street violence and other disorders it lacks the insight and sureness displayed in its earlier passages.

"To deal with the question of violence in the Six Counties in recent times it is necessary to go back to October 5, 1968 in Derry when the peaceful activities of the Civil Rights movement were met by the brutal violence of the official agents of the Stormont regime ordered into action by Mr. William Craig. Certain leading I.R.A. personnel were alleged by Mr. Craig to have been seen in Derry that day. This was disproved but there was, of course, no retraction.

"Craig was removed from office but the official violence of October 1968 was followed by an unofficial violence of extreme Unionist supporters during the peaceful march of students from Belfast to Derry the following January. The R.U.C. joined in with an attack on the Bogside residents on January 4, 1969.

"A series of expert explosions at installations in at least three counties in the spring of that year caused several million pounds damage. The Irish Republican Army was in due course named as being responsible by the then head of the R.U.C., but it transpired many months later in court proceedings that an extreme Unionist body, the U.V.F., was the perpetrator of not alone these explosions but also of a subsequent series in the 26 Counties in late 1969 and early 1970.

"The purpose of the U.V.F. sabotage in the Six Counties in March and April 1969 was to blow Stormont Premier O'Neill out of office and in that it was entirely successful. However another episode of official Stormont violence intervened in a further R.U.C. attack on Bogsiders (Apirl 18-19).

"The Cameron report on the events outlined here indicated that the I.R.A. contribution so far was a peaceful one of efficiently stewarding, marshalling and controlling Civil Rights demonstrations.

"Pro-British violence (both official and unofficial) culminated in the siege of Bogside, August 12-14 and the invasion of National areas of Belfast and other centres, August 13-15 with tragic fatal consequences too well known to be enumerated here.

"The result of this violence against C.R. supporters was a total breakdown in Stormont rule. British troops were ordered into action by Westminster to perform a rescue operation and save the system. The people naturally enough hoped that the British Army would protect them from further violence. On September 27, however, British troops failed to protect people in Coates Street, when several houses were burned and it was found necessary to re-erect 100 barricades.

"The Republican Army about this time guaranteed to defend the people against such attacks. In addition, following threats by British Commander General Freeland to "shoot to kill" (Ballymurphy incidents April last), the I.R.A. indicated that in the event of Irish people being brutalised or shot by British troops its resources would be used to take retaliatory action.

"The guarantee to defend the people was made good on June 27-28 when coat-trailing Orange processions resulted in further invasions of Nationalist streets which were successfully repelled. That pledge was also honoured in East Belfast the same week-end when the Ballymacarret area and notably St. Matthew's Church and adjoining convent were subjected to an all-out attack. The British Army was not available and their message to a Stormont M.P. was that the Ballymacarrett people could "stew in their own juice". The people to whom this protection was afforded, the local Defence Committees and indeed the C.C.D.C. were glad of the action of the I.R.A. in making a major contribution to this defence.

"The week-end of July 3-4-5 in Belfast was to be a turning point in the situation. Following a change in government at Westminster and visits to the city by Lord Balneil, British Defence Chief, and the Chief of the British General Staff, what can only be described as a punitive military action was launched against the people of the Lower Falls area, formerly "no-go-land", which ended with Capt. John Brooke's triumphal tour of the "Conquered territory" on a press vehicle while the inhabitants languished behind closed doors, the victims of an illegal curfew. Four innocent men were killed by British troops. Two were alleged to have been snipers. The inquests on them have disposed of this myth.

"From July 4 on, all confidence in the British Army peace-keepers protectors of the people evaporated. The troops were seen as the agents of Stormont, replacing the R.U.C. and fulfilling this role with the blessing of Westminister.

"The C.C.D.C. which had relied on the good faith of the Westminster government and had been dealing with the British Army was placed in an impossible position by these events (ref. C.C.D.C. booklet "Law(?) and Order" — Gen. Freeland to Father Padraig Murphy — "I'm ordering you, Fr. Murphy . . .") The Committee began to lose support and this was accelerated by subsequent acts of the British forces, e.g. the shooting dead of Daniel O'Hagan on July 31 for which — as in the case of the Falls Road killings — no one has been made amenable. The heavy-handed action of the British Army on the Falls, the Shankill (where they killed two men in October 1969), in Ardoyne, Derry and other areas has branded them in the people's minds as agents of repression and nothing else.

"Recently, a protest by Ardoyne women against the charges of murder brought against a number of local men, sparked off a demonstration by young people. British troops reacted and one soldier fired into a crowd wounding three youths, thus escalating the situation out of all proportion to the original protest. Contradictory statements of the affair were issued by the British Army authorities.

"C.C.D.C. member Father Murphy in a B.B.C. television interview on November 9 mentioned the loss of confidence in Westminster and spoke of a similar loss of confidence by C.C.D.C. followers in that body. The C.C.D.C. were fighting to hold their support, he said.

"Is the Central Citizens' Defence Committee now attempting to find

scapegoats in the altered situation since July 4 last? Their policy of reliance on the British government is seen by ordinary people to be in shreds. Street demonstrations and other activities by members of the public are symptomatic of their fierce resentment against the entire British imperial system in Ireland and all that goes with it.

"The I.R.A. has not promoted violence in the streets. It has not urged young people on against heavily armed British troops. In many instances, in fact, the contrary has been the case.

"The I.R.A. deplores intimidation of individuals and families, extortion and other rackets, assaults, housebreakings and such vandalism. The Republican Army calls on the people to organise themselves against these further injustices that fester in an already unjust society. But the root causes must be tackled. It is not sufficient to condemn and tell people what not to do. Positive leadership must be forthcoming and the C.C.D.C. is not providing that lead. It calls for work for Ireland but it has ignored in its statement the good work, social, cultural and economic being done quietly among the people by Republicans mainly through the 13 Cumainn of Sinn Fein in Belfast. Could it be that many of the middle-class members of C.C.D.C. are themselves out of touch and out of sympathy with those who demonstrate and throw stones?

"It has become popular to blame the I.R.A., to follow the lead given by Paisley, Peacocke, Faulkner and the rest .The C.C.D.C. are fully aware of the I.R.A. attitude towards acts of vandalism and hooliganism and of the efforts made by Republicans to prevent irresponsible actions on the streets. But the root causes of violence must be clearly identified and eliminated. The I.R.A. also condemns the activities of sectarian elements and other delinquents who masquerade as Republicans for their own unworthy motives.

"The position of the Irish Republican Army is as follows:

(1) It will continue to honour its pledge to defend Irish people against extreme Unionist and official Stormont violence, and against marauding British troops.

(2) It will not allow these same British troops to brutalise or shoot Irish people — whether on the Falls or Shankill — with impnity (ref. I.R.P.B. statement of April 1 last re. Gen. Freeland's "shoot to kill" order.) Retalitory action has been and will be taken.

"Finally, if the C.C.D.C. has any knowledge of positive proposals at this time towards the establishment of peace with justice in Ireland which is not available to Republicans or to the public in general, they have a duty to speak out so that such proposals may be examined and evaulated."

The full truth about this rioting, particularly in the Ballymurphy area of Belfast, was that it was most dangerous and embarrassing for the I.R.A.

Not only was there always the danger of a repeat of the Falls Road Curfew of July, and of a direct confrontation with the British Army being forced on the I.R.A., but the Ballymurphy rioting was bringing large scale British forces into the area where the major part of the training of the hundreds of new recruits was going on.

For these reasons alone, it was patently **not** in the interest of the I.R.A. to encourage youths to take on the Crown Forces with stones and

bottles and was actually of major importance to the I.R.A. to keep the soldiers busy in other areas, and away from Ballymurphy.

Despite the best efforts of the I.R.A. the rioting in Ballymurphy continued, almost unabated, into January 1971, with the situation aggravated one hundred fold or more, by the asinine tactics of the British soldiers.

At the request of the British Army a delegation from Belfast Brigade I.R.A., with the sanction of the national and local leadership, held a series of meetings with British officers. Serious rioting had again broken out in Ballymurphy on January 11, mainly as a result of the British soldiers enticing young girls to a discoteque in the Henry Taggart Memorial Hall, and after it was closed (due to local pressure) to film shows. Among the reasons for inviting the girls were to get information from them about the I.R.A. and to satisfy the sexual urges of British soldiers.

The I.R.A. succeeded in lowering the level of violence in Ballymurphy, a fact which did not go unheeded by the British. As a result of approaches made by the British, senior members of the Belfast Brigade staff met senior British officers, and demanded that the British withdraw and leave control of community peace to the I.R.A.

It was obvious that this idea appealed to the British officers in command of forces in the area — their own efforts were definitely not meeting with success. A suggestion by the British that the R.U.C. be allowed back to Ballymurphy was rejected out of hand by the I.R.A. The people of Ballymurphy had rid themselves of the R.U.C. long before, and for all time.

On January 14, 1971, a house-to-house search of the estate by 700 British soldiers, led to renewed rioting in Ballymurphy. Guns, petrol bombs and sulphuric acid were used by the residents to resist this invasion, and one soldier was wounded.

By the evening of January 16 the I.R.A. had succeeded in ending the Ballymurphy riots.

It was agreed by the British officers that there would be no military or police activities in the Clonard area while talks continued between the I.R.A. and the British. Information on the negotiations reached William Craig and Ian Paisley, both of whom raised the matter in Stormont.

On several occasions since the massacre of August 1969, Bishop Philbin openly collaborated with the Crown Forces and the illegal Stormont regime. Once again, on January 17, 1971 he carried out his imperialist masters' bidding when in a sermon in Corpus Christi Church, Ballymurphy he spoke of the youth of that ghetto area acting under the influence of "immoral orders".

Even his facts were wrong on this occasion. His inference was that the I.R.A. were issuing "immoral orders" to attack the forces of "law and order", where in actual fact the I.R.A. had endeavoured to stop the troubles.

In an open letter, Bishop Philbin was publicly asked: (1) if he considered the youth of Ballymurphy bound to accept an immoral government, as British rule in Ireland is based on aggression and conquest, and if the youth were bound to accept immoral laws, such as the Special Powers Act; (2) if he considered these laws to be moral, and British rule and military occupation of part of Ireland to be moral.

His Lordship's answer : "No comment".

5 Retaliation

During the period so far under review (to January 1971) not only were the nationalist ghetto areas under I.R.A. control but were seen to be. The people were being adequately defended against loyalist and British Crown Forcs' excesses. The I.R.A. were clearly emerging as the "People's Army".

Most important, they were also more than adequately policed by Republican vigilantes and all forms of petty crime dealt with. So well was petty crime dealt with in Republican Courts, that it was admitted even by the enemy that crime was stamped out almost completely.

Republican courts dealt with housebreakings, vandalism, hooliganism, drugpushers, shopbreaking, car thefts, informers, motor bike thefts, rapes and attempted rapes, and molestings. Punishments varied from tarring and feathering, imprisonment, forced community work for varying period, admonishments, fines, repayment of value of stolen or damaged property, interviews with parents of minors — all depending on the on the enormity of the charge.

The R.U.C. were already a rejected force in the nationalist areas, and in some cases where people still tried to enlist the aid of the so-called "lawful authority" in day-to-day police matters, the usual retort was that if these people provided information on the I.R.A. and its activities, R.U.C. help would be forthcoming. Such attempts to enlist informers and touts were singularly unsuccessful.

In December, 1970, there was the famous "kidnap" plot in Dublin, when one southern newspaper broke the sensational news that a plot was afoot to kidnap Dublin Government ministers, and hold them to ransom, or perhaps perpetrate some fouler deed on them. The real purpose of this 'mind-bender' soon became apparent when hints of pending internment were peddled by the ever-ready press.

The Republican Movement correctly read the signs and answered this Dublin Government ploy uncompromisingly. The essenence of the I.R.A. statement was that internment was 'not on'.

On February 3, 1971 a force of the Second Royal Anglians, on the orders of Major General Tony Farrar-Hockley, cordoned off and searched the Ardoyne and Clonard areas. At lunchtime on that day the predominantly Protestant work force of Mackie's engineering works on Springfield Road, adjoining Clonard, came out to lunch and commenced firing missiles at the nationalist people to the accompaniment of the usual jeers and abuse which the ghetto-people had suffered many times over more than 50 years.

The British and their R.U.C. accomplices, as usual, turned their backs on the attackers and confronted the besieged nationalists. In the afternoon, when Mackies workers had gone back to work, the troops decided to clear the streets before the evening and to do this put on a show of

jackboot bravado by roaring up and down the streets in jeeps and other vehicles. At least three people were knocked down and injured.

Two nights of the fiercest rioting seen so far in Belfast followed — eight soldiers were injured by bullets and gelignite, five of them injured on the New Lodge Road.

The next day, February 5, Farrar-Hockley went on television and publicly named five men whom he claimed were I.R.A. leaders — not mentioning the fact that these were the men he had been negotiating with up to a few days previously.

The struggle now entered a new phase. Time and again the British Government, British Army and Stormont had been warned that if further agression and repression was attempted this would be met by force. From defence of the nationalist areas, the I.R.A. was now forced into retaliation.

On February 6, in the New Lodge Road, Gunner Robert Curtis of the Royal Artillery became the first British soldier to be killed in the Six Counties by the I.R.A. At the time of writing more than 200 British soldiers and U.D.R. members, have died in the current phase of the centuries old attempt to subdue and keep down Irishmen in Ireland.

That same night there were other casualties. Four companions of Gunner Curtis were wounded, some critically, and in separate incidents a staff officer of B Company, Third Battalion, I.R.A., Jim Saunders and a member of Sinn Fein, Barney Watts, were both killed during sectarian troubles in the Oldpark area.

Saunders was killed by Loyalist gunmen operating from Louisa Street. The Glenview Street area had been under attack for several hours on February 5 and again on February 6 by these gunmen. The 'peace-keeping' British military were absent from the area at the time, though the R.U.C. were present. Troops on the Oldpark Road refused to move against the Loyalist gunmen.

Barney Watts was unarmed and had thrown some stones at soldiers when shot dead by a British military marksman at Chatham Street, in the Ardoyne.

On February 5, the Unionist "News Letter" made a momentous announcement in a banner across the top of page one: Duke In Ulster to Fight IRA". The Duke of Kent had come, and everyone quailed at the great man's arrival. Two days later Mr. John Chartres in a story in the Sunday Times announced that the British Army firmly believed it had "inflicted a major defeat on the three so-called battalions of the I.R.A. Provisionals in Belfast".

Mr. Chartres story contained, among other gems, the information that "nine of the most dangerous men in the province had been put out of action".

This was but the first of many stories in similar vein about the imminent demise of the I.R.A. The Duke of Kent went home a few days later.

On February 7, Major James Chichester-Clark, then nearing the end of his tenure as Stormont Premier, solemnly announced "Northern Ireland is at war with the Irish Republican Army Provisionals".

From the time of the August pogroms in 1969, tension had existed between the now split Republican elements, and this was exarcebated

by the successes of the reformed Republican Movement at the expense of erstwhile colleagues.

Some unfortunate incidents culminated in a gunbattle between the IRA and NLF in which Charles Hughes, an IRA officer, was killed. This killing occured after a truce had been arranged.

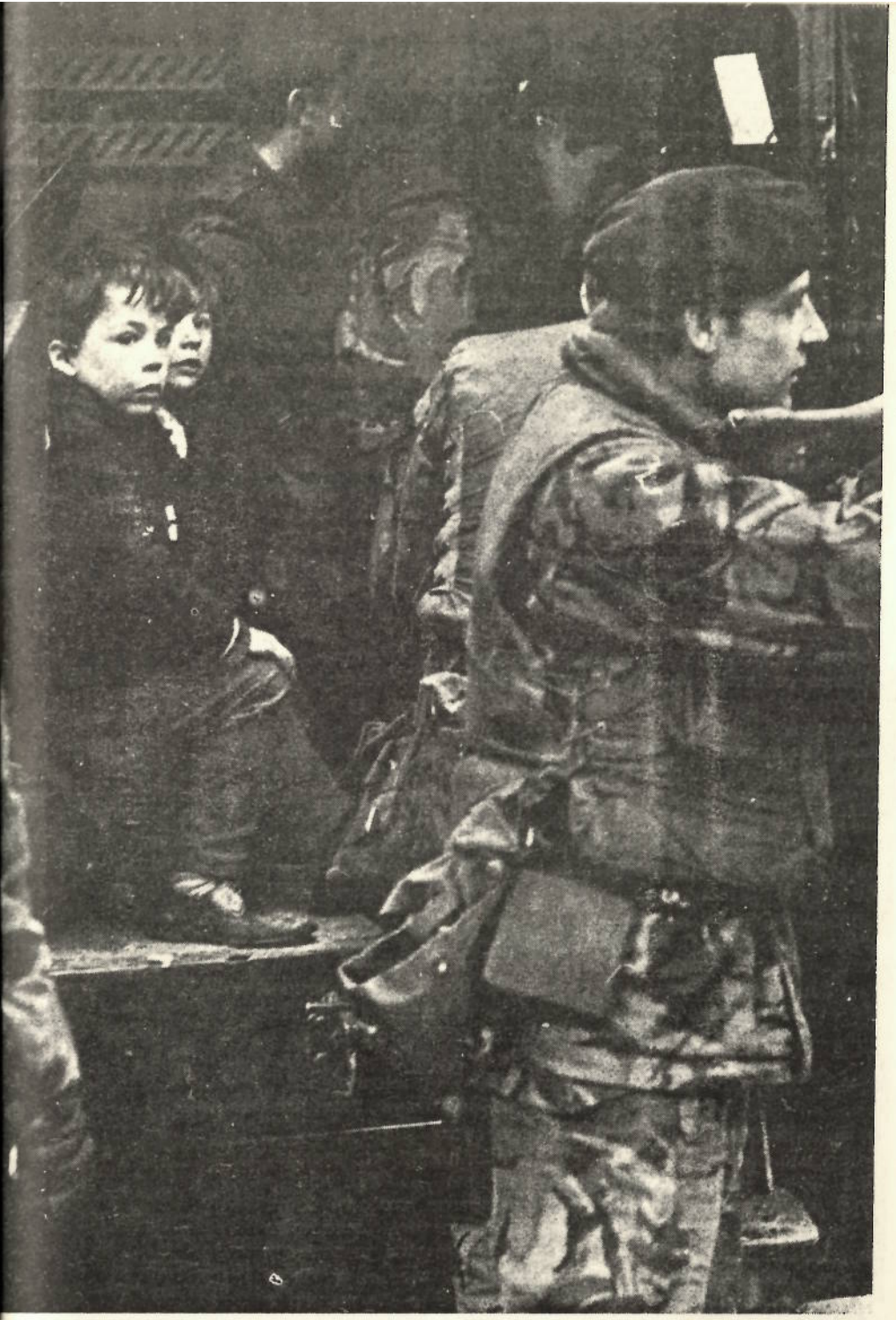
Some time later, another IRA volunteer, Thomas Cahill, was shot several times by an NLF unit while he was engaged on his daily milk delivery round in Ballymurphy. Mr. Cahill was maimed for life, and eventually sentenced to two years imprisonment as a result of this incident. The NLF claimed that his attempted murder was due to communications difficulties, that their unit could not be informed of the truce.

On the battlefront . . .

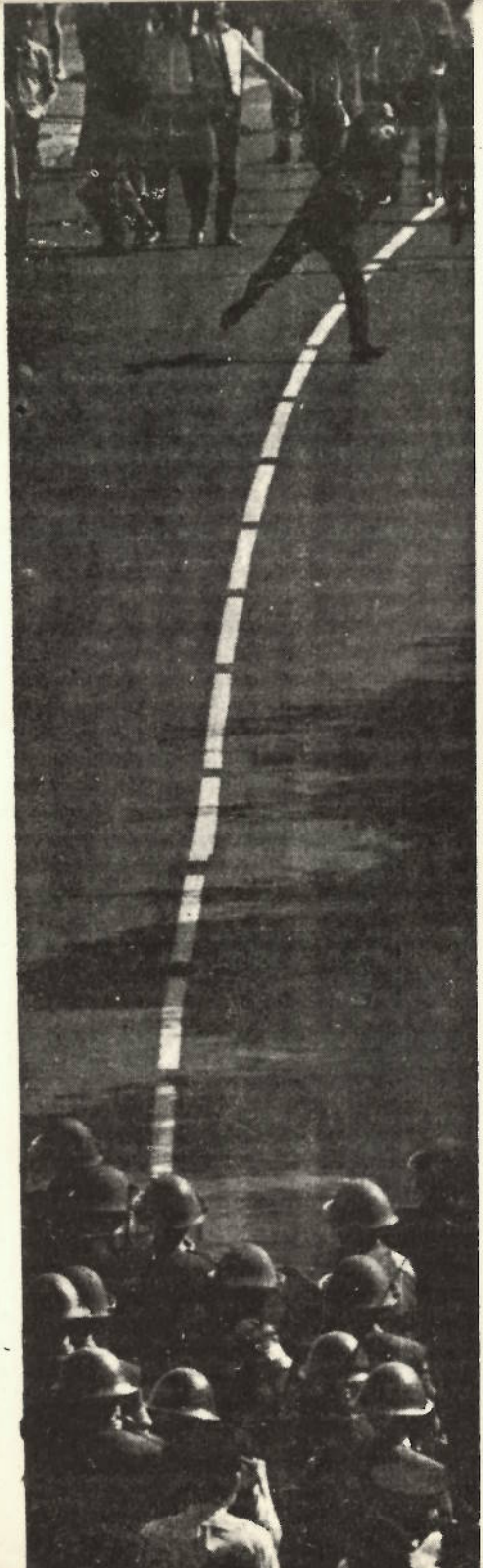
The rearguard.

On the run . . .

After the battle, Ballymacarret, June 1970.



Two 'leading Provo officers' arrested.



Armed British troops block Dungiven (Co. Derry) 1970.

Collaborators

6 Resistance spreads

Any pretence that the bad old days of Unionist repression were gone and that reforms to enable nationalists to live as equals and human beings were on the way, evaporated completely in the coming months. Not only were the loyalists allowed free rein to carry on as they had for more than 50 years, but they now had the might of the British Crown forces to back them up. Some of the most blatently corrupt judicial decisions ever given came about during the period February-April, 1971, and confirmed the worst suspicions of fair-minded people.

Chichester-Clark fell from power and Brian Faulkner replaced him in Stormont Castle. It was obvious, in view of Faulkner's past record and public utterances that the situation could only deteriorate.

Blatent murderous attacks on non-unionists became an almost daily occurance, and women and children were not exempt. The trouble was not confined to Belfast but had spread right across the six occupied counties.

More British troops had been brought in, originally at the request of Chichester-Clark, and while these were only a fraction of the force Clark sought from Westminister, the situation in the nationalist areas was becoming intolerable. Clark had also sought permanent British Army garrisons in the nationalist areas, but the British Government just had not enough troops to put at Stormont's disposal.

It had ever been the aim of the I.R.A. to end the Stormont regime, and bring about a direct confrontation with the British Crown Forces.

Therefore, both for strategic and tactical reasons, a bombing campaign was commenced. The objects of this campaign were mainly two-fold: (1) to stretch the British Army to the limits of its resources and to keep pressures off the nationalist areas; (2) to weaken the economy by sabotage operation against government and commercial property with the British taxpayer picking up the bill for damage done.

In April, 37 major explosions took place; May — 47 and June — 50 operations.

A clever and unscrupulous smear compaign, in which to their eternal shame many Irishmen (so-called) in various capacities, has been conducted against the I.R.A. regarding these sabotage operations. This campaign, conducted by British Army Intelligence (Propaganda section) infers that the bombing campaign is of a sectarian nature and directed against civilians.

The I.R.A. has indicated many times that warnings are always given when bombs are placed, so that civilian personnel can be cleared from the areas affected. As part of the 'black' propaganda campaign, the British Army have on several occasions deliberately failed to act on these warnings, resulting in civilians being killed and maimed.

Many times since trouble first broke out in August 1969, Unionist

extremists and some of their Tory fellow-travellers in England called for random shootings of civilians in nationalist areas as a means of restoring "law and order". The theory was that these shootings would bring the rebel masses to their senses.

By the advent of summer 1971 it was very clear that far from giving in to jackboot agression, the nationalist populace were resisting the reign of terror imposed on them with even greater ferocity. This was the situation not only in Belfast but all over the north. In Derry, particularly, relations between the people and the British Army were reaching a crescendo of unpleansantness.

Early in July after the killing of young Damien Harkin by a British Army lorry, all-out rioting was taking place nightly in Derry and it was against this background that on the night of July 7, two young men, Seamus Cusack and Desmond Beattie, were shot dead by the British Army. Neither man was armed and neither was a member of the I.R.A.

Expert evidence afterwards gave the lie to British allegations that both had been armed. In fact at the inquest on Beattie, British Army witnesses contradicted each other and the original untruthful reports put out by the "propaganda" machine, so that all the world could judge for itself just how much reliance could be placed on British Army statements.

The Republican Movement had called time and again for the opposition M.P.s at Stormont to see the contradiction of their sitting in this puppet parliament.

It was the policy of the Republican Movement to bring down Stormont. The vast majority of the nationalist population in the occupied area were swinging over to the Republican stand, and the M.P. who was quickest to see this was John Hume, S.D.L.P. member for Derry.

Increasing British brutality on the nationalist areas was bringing the S.D.L.P. under pressure and after the cold-blooded premeditated murders of Cusack and Beattie, the inevitable happened.

Gerry Fitt, the erstwhile "Republican" Labour M.P. for Dock (Belfast) and now nominal leader of the S.D.L.P. was unavailable when Hume called a meeting of S.D.L.P. members of Stormont. This meeting, without Fitt's knowledge, gave an ultimatum to Westminister that unless an independent inquiry was made into the deaths of the two innocent civilians, the S.D.L.P. would leave Stormont.

Fitt ran scared to London and tried to work a deal with Maudling. This failed and the British refused (for obvious reasons) an independent public inquiry. On July 15 Fitt was forced to lead his members out of Stormont. Thus another plank in the programme of the Republican Movement for the abolition of this corrupt regime had been achieved. With the retaliation campaign in full force and a unity such as never before among nationalist peoples in the north, it was only a matter of time until Stormont went completely.

Some days before the murders of Cusack and Beattie, a statement by Reginauld Maudling in Westminister (on June 26) gave a clue as to the probable reason for the cold blooded shooting of unarmed civilians.

Maudling declared that the British Government was now in a state of "open war" with the I.R.A. Unless the other "security" measures succeeded in restoring the Queen's writ in rebel areas, internment would be introduced without warning he said. It was becoming very clear just

what some of these security measures entailed, as the killing of the two Derry men showed.

About this time it became public knowledge that loyalist extremists were training and in nationalist areas a repeat of August '69 was greatly feared.

The IRA was aware of strongly armed orange groups training under cover of the Ulster Defence Regiment.

Most of the members of the UDR were former B-Specials and the forming of this regiment directly under the British Army proved just what the real reason for the Special's existence was: to keep control of Ireland for the British, using native-born colonials to do it. Thousands of the B-Specials had held on to their guns — the guns were supposedly missing.

Not only had these people got pistols, revolvers and rifles in their private possession, but they also had hundreds of sub-machine guns and even some heavier automatic weapons. Many more weapons had been imported in to the Six Counties by various militia groups all over the area.

The utterings of Unionist spokesmen, including such as Roy Bradford, William Craig, Capt. Laurence Orr, and Ian Paisley around this time were also very ominous. Nobody outrightly denied the existence of armed extremist groups.

Added to all other warning signs, and accurate information at the disposal of the IRA, were the ravings in loyalist publications, such as the Woodvale Defence Association bulletin which supported a call by the South Derry Ulster Protestant Volunteers (probably the UVF in reality, but using the name of the organisation started by Paisley some years earlier, because of the Stormont ban on the UVF) for people to join 'defence associations'.

Woodvale D.A. also sought members and it must be remembered in the light of recent happenings that both the Woodvale group and the Shankill Defence Association are affiliated to the Ulster Defence Association, which when all is said and done is probably no more than a legal front for the UVF, or more likely took over from the latter body which was rather discredited in the eyes of many loyalists.

Loyalist extremists were not short of money, for their arms-buying sprees. Their main sources, as revealed publicly in July 1971, were big business concerns all over the Six Counties, not to mention certain aristocratic families.

Unionist M.P.s were reported to have told Maudling that the offer of funds was refused in some cases as "every man willing had a gun and some had two".

While the loyalists were arming and training, right under the noses of the British Army and British Government, the latter bodies were busy trying to restore "law and order", by doing their damndest to seize the arms which nationalists had provided themselves with for defence. In the London House of Commons Mr. Stanley McMaster, Unionist MP for Belfast East was told that in the 12 months since July 1970 572 houses in the Six Counties had been searched. None of these were in loyalist areas.

On July 17, 1971 one of the most daring — and for the British Govern-

ment — most expensive — operations was the wrecking of the Daily Mirror printing plant in Belfast. Total cost was somewhere in the region of £10 million.

Another daring operation at this time was the rescuing by an IRA unit of 17 year-old Gerald Fitzgerald from the Royal Victoria Hospital where he was under armed guard. This young volunteer had been seriously wounded in action. He eventually went back into action in Belfast, and after been rearrested early in 1973, was given a savage 15 year jail sentence.

Life was becoming intolerable for the nationalist people in the north with increasing repression and murder at the hands of Britain's professional killers. Tear gas, truncheon; rifle butts, rubber bullets and eventually lead bullets became part of every day.

On Saturday, August 8, Harry Thornton, a 38-year-old father of six children was being driven to work in Belfast. A British soldier opened fire at the van in which Mr. Thornton sat and killed him. Within hours the British Army press office informed the world that the soldiers had been fired at from the van. Within days the British Army were forced to withdraw this slanderous lie and tell the truth.

Had it not been for the defence of nationalist areas by the IRA, mass extermination would have taken place. Having claimed so many times already that the IRA were defeated the British Army were meeting fierce resistance everywhere. In July alone 91 bombing operations, causing thousands of pounds worth of damage and keeping the soldiers at full stretch, had been carried out.

When Private Leslie Hatton of the First Battalion, Green Howards was killed in retaliation for the murder of Harry Thornton he became the 11th. British soldier to die in the campaign.

7 Internment

The bubble burst on August 9, 1971 when Faulkner and his henchmen had their way. In the early hours of the morning hundreds of people were lifted from their homes and interned.

The IRA, having had information on the impending swoops, suffered few losses in their final act of lunacy on the part of the British and their Stormont lackeys, and the main people taken were the leaders of the Civil Rights Association and the People's Democracy, as well as some older Republicans and civil rights activists.

All over the north the nationalist people rose in outright defiance of the might of the British Army, and within hours of the first swoops the IRA, whom it was thought to exterminate, took on the British in battles that were to last several days in some parts.

Loyalist bigots took the opportunity to launch waves of attacks on nationalist areas, particularly in Belfast, and within 24 hours of the start of internment at least 13 people, including a priest, a woman, two teenage boys, some men, an IRA volunteer and a British soldier had been killed by gunfire.

Thousands of people were once more forced to flee their homes and seek refuge in the south; battles raged in towns and villages all over the north — men, women and children attacking tanks and armoured cars in many cases with their bare hands.

The gloatings of Faulkner and other loyalist extremists very soon came to an end, and were turned into blind panic and rage when Joe Cahill, the IRA leader in Belfast, addressed an international press conference behind the barricades in Ballymurphy.

While the press conference was being held, British soldiers patrolled up and down outside the school building where Mr. Cahill, with others, addressed the world. Of particular interest to the pressmen from foreign parts whose minds and despatches were usually conditioned only by 'Lisburn Lies' was the fact that not a single loyalist had been interned.

The blind biased hatred of the British press was wellshown in their reports of the press conference the following day. Phrases and headlines such as "Public Enemy Number 1" (with a picture of Joe Cahill in the Daily Mail) were commonplace. Once again the British Lion had not only been cheeked but positively defied and scorned by Irishmen and Irishwomen.

Meanwhile, as the north burned and the nationalist people started a massive civil disobedience campaign, Mr. Lynch and the Dublin Government called for talks with the Heath Government in London. Mr. Lynch did adopt one plank, at least, of IRA policy: he called for the abolition of Stormont. But while he talked, and sought more talking, his political police still continued their harrassment of Republicans, and he did not release those Republicans in his prison cells, their only crime being what Lynch himself would not do: defence of the people from British and loyalist excesses.

As the battles continued that internment week, two more IRA volunteers, and many innocent civilians died from gunshot wounds. British casualties were about 100, many of them serious injuries.

The bitter truth was at least dawning on the British public: their country was at war with Irish freedom fighters. Despite the best efforts of London's very professional propaganda machine, with the able and willing assistance of Fleet Street, ITN and the BBC, many British people and some of their politicians began asking themselves why their menfolk in the British Army should be returning in wooden boxes, or maimed for life. Just what sort of 'peace-keeping' duties caused these things to happen?

Lynch, leader of the Dublin puppet government made some diplomatic noises protesting against internment, while people all over the country came out in their thousands to show their abhorrance of what was happening in the occupied area.

Only a few weeks earlier, through the medium of political correspondents, the same Lynch had 'leaked' rumours of the possible introduction of internment in the 26 Counties. (This system of 'leaks' through political correspondents is a normal one to test public opinion and reactions to proposed measures which might not be palatible; it is also a means of conditioning the public into possible acceptance of whatever is proposed).

The I.R.A. answered these "newspaper" threats in a statement issued through the Irish Republican Publicity Bureau on July 14, 1971 and the Dublin regime was warned as they had been when the same threat was made December, '70, that internment in the south "will not be accepted passively". The statement went on :

"We wish now to repeat this statement, but with even more emphasis. We will not allow Mr. Lynch to sell the people of the North by throwing Republicans into internment camps. Any such action by Mr. Lynch will be actively resisted both inside and outside the camps."

The ostensible reason for the July '71 threat were a series of explosions which had taken place in Tipperary, Cork and Dublin, and for which the N.L.F. had accepted responsibility.

In the light of what took place in the north just a few weeks later, it is obvious that Lynch was under pressure from his Whitehall masters to introduce internment, and that this was to be timed with its introduction in the north.

If Irish and world opinion was aroused by the oppressive introduction of internment and by the magnificent fight put up by the IRA (which not only ended the credibility of British and Stormont claims that the IRA was "defeated", but also saved the nationalist areas of Belfast and Derry from another extreme loyalist onslaught), another issue in the coming weeks and months, added to the horror and revulsion already felt.

The news of systematic sadistic brutality in the interrogation of internees hit the world. Freedom-loving people everywhere reeled unbelievingly when the news reached them — were we back to the savage middle-ages, or was this actually the closing decades of the 20th. century, where man's intelligence had brought him to the moon some 250,000 miles out in space?

What were first unconfirmed rumours soon became a prolonged serial of horror story after horror story, like an unstoppable barrage of wave

after wave of angry ocean driven by gale-force winds battering a small uncovered craft.

The stories, well-documented and fully confirmed now, were of men beaten, batoned, punched, being made to lie on the ground and kicked on all parts of their bodies; savaged by Alsation dogs; hit with rifle butts while made to run the gauntlet of broken glass, sharp stones and barbed wire; dragged along by their hair; being hooded and pushed backwards out of helicopters while not knowing what height from the ground they were; being refused permission to urinate; not allowed sleep; tortured with cigarette butts and needles; electric shocks administered to their feet and genitals.

Most of the detainees were subjected to one or more forms of physical and psychological brutality over a long period of sleeplessness and enforced hunger. They were cut off from communication with the rest of the world and for several days even their closest relatives were refused information regarding their whereabouts.

The peace-keeping British Army were restoring 'law and order'.

Even the worst elements of the British gutter press, which was a willing ally in propagating Lisburn Lies, were taken aback at the revelations of terror tactics carried out in the name of Britain. Just as the British media had some weeks earlier protrayed the determined and increased resistance of the IRA to the British Army, once again it was forced to tell British readers of the horrible deeds being done in Hollywood Barracks, Long Kesh and on the prison ship Maidstone.

On August 22, in a report by two of its staffers, the Sunday Times noted: "After a week of tracing these witnesses and talking to them — it has involved us in something over 50 interviews — the theory that these allegations are a brilliantly-contrived conspiracy for IRA propaganda purposes seems an inadequate explanation of the evidence".

But despite the uproar over the terror tactics being pursued and all the resultant world-wide publicity focussed on the Six Counties, the oppression continued almost unabated.

Early in November 1971 a statement signed by 387 priests (comprising 80 per cent of the Catholic clergy in the occupied area) condemned the torture and brutality still then being inflicted "on innocent people — convicted of no crime — at the Palace Military Barracks, Hollywood, under the protection of law by the Special Branch of the R.U.C."

The priests based their allegation "on substantial medical evidence, on the testimony of priests who saw the injuries and on the statements of men whose truthfulness is already known to us through our pastoral work".

The priests' statement also alleged that "brutality, physical and mental torture and psychological pressures have been inflicted on men arrested under the Special Powers Act on October 9 and subsequently".

Three months after the August 9 swoop, figures released by the British Government spelt out clearly the collossal flop which internment had been.

The only people who really suffered from it were innocent civilians killed by the British Army (59 civilians were killed in that period; 27 in the previous seven months — these included some IRA volunteers); 23 British soldiers killed by the IRA; seven RUC and U.D.R. men and 104 British soldiers injured.

Up to November 7, a total of 700 bomb explosions had taken place — 350 of these in the three months since internment; in the same three months over 6,000 pounds of explosives had been used, compared with 3,000 pounds in the previous seven months.

It was further revealed that 54 per cent of the people 'rounded-up' since August 9, had been released.

All this, the Sunday Times on November 7, claimed, pointed to a "rather poorer flow of intelligence than the Army (British) had been claiming".

During these terrible months, many deeds of valour were done, and many historical events took place, details of which space does not permit to be recorded here.

One deed which must be mentioned was the magnificent action of the people of Courtbane, Co. Louth, on the border with Co. Armagh who demonstrated their solidarity with the Freedom Fighters by detaining a detachment of Crown soldiers in their townland on August 29. In a subsequent battle with an IRA unit called by the residents, one British soldier was killed.

The people of Courtbane, Co. Louth, burned out a Ferret-car in which the British came across the border, and the same people later actively prevented the apprehension of the IRA unit by Free State forces who arrived on the scene.

Throughout the age-old Irish struggle against British Imperialism one of the most treacherous forces has been the Catholic Church Hierarchy (with a few honourable exceptions). Once again in September 1971, they were at it, condemning the Freedom Fighters. A long statement from the Leadership of the Republican Movement on September 13 answered this latest attack:

"Contrary to what Cardinal Conway and the Roman Catholic Bishops say, the actions of the Irish Republican Movement are a war of defence — merely a new phase in resistance to foreign aggression that has gone on for 800 years; the British Army, on the other hand, is engaged in a war of aggression against Irish people.

"This is not the first time the Roman Catholic Bishops have approved of war of aggression and condemned war of defence. A war of defence is quite justified on the principle of self-defence. The fact that the British Army is already in occupation does not change the validity of this principle.

"The Bishops speak of forcing 1,000,000 Protestants into a united Ireland. Action is directed not at the Protestant population but at the British Army and the British administration both military and civil which is based on aggression and the so-called right of conquest. We have heard no condemnation from the Bishops over the past 50 years of 500,000 Nationalist people, mostly members of Cardinal Conway's Church being forced to live — not only against their will but against the will of 80 per cent of the people of Ireland — under the British and Stormont regimes. This would be too much to expect since the role of the Roman Catholic Bishops since 1795 has been, with a few honourable exceptions, to uphold British rule and condemn and even excommunicate Irish Republicans. Even now, the Bishops take as the unit of decision on the national question the artifically created Six-County instead of the 32 Counties of Ireland.

"Because of this and because of the dual standard of morality implied in recent selective clerical condemnations of violence, the credibility of the Roman Catholic Bishops in this issue is at a low ebb and their statement while it may please the English Government and the Orange bigots of Stormont will not worry the gallant Freedom Fighters of the North. They know that, in the words of Father Sean McManus of Fermanagh "The Six-County state was illegally imposed by force, and it is illegally sustained by force, against the will of the Irish people. Therefore, its institutions, its laws and its legal and political expressions are invalid."

"The basic question is who owns Ireland. We say the Irish people own it and that the very presence of British troops is immoral and that this generation of Irish men and women not only have a right to use arms to expel them, but a duty to do so.

"Will the Cardinal and Bishops provide, or have they it in their power to provide adequate physical defence for the minority population against marauding British troops, partisan police forces and extreme Unionist mobs, which have taken such a toll in life, limb and property through their attacks over the past three years?

"The fighting defenders of the North will continue to draw their spiritual consolation from those fearless and honourable ministers of religion of all denominations who have never failed to render spiritual assistance to those who struggle against outrageous odds for justice and the dignity of man."

8 War or Peace?

Right through the balance of 1971 the resistance campaign continued unabated, clearly showing that the IRA more than had the measure of the British Army. Figures issued by the Stormont propaganda office for 'incidents' during these months illustrate this point: September — 999; October — 864; November — 694; December — 765. (A small number of these 'incidents' may not have been IRA operations, but when it is considered that some days more than 20 operations took place, and that on November 27 in a co-ordinated series of attacks a total of 60 operations were successfully carried out, it will be seen that the efforts made to curb the IRA had been singularly unsuccessful).

In all cases, except where British Army posts were concerned, warnings were given, so that civilian casaulties were kept down. The main targets were state property, banks and large commercial premises. Only when the British withheld warnings did civilian casualties occur. In October, eight British Army personnel were killed and many wounded.

Two horrific incidents occurred during this period. On December 4, an explosion at McGuirks Bar in Georges Street killed 15 people and injured 17 others. This was a Catholic-owned bar in a nationalist area and no warning was given.

The second was the murder in cold blood by the British Army of Dorothy Maguire and Mrs. Maire Meehan on October 23. None of the murderers were ever brought to justice, but a man driving the car in which the two women were killed was charged and brought to court.

Forensic evidence in the case of McGuirk's Bar explosion indicated that plastic explosive was used. This type of explosive is only available in these parts to the British Army, which might explain the identity of the "Empire Loyalists" who claimed responsibility for the blast.

Resistance was not confined to the towns and villages, but was carried on by the people jailed and interned. On November 16, a group of nine Republicans escaped from Crumlin Road Jail two were recaptured shortly afterwards and seven made good their getaway. Many of these returned to the battleground and some have since been jailed again. Three others escaped on December 23, 1971.

Attempts by the British to have hundreds of border roads blown-up and blocked became a disaster, with resistance by the people on both sides of the border. Cratered roads were filled-in time and again; finally the British gave up in frustration. You cannot defeat a risen people. When will they ever learn?

Republican activity during 1971 was not confined to the military front, but it was also a year of great political activity and advance.

In June, Sinn Féin issued "Eire Nua", containing the social and economic policies of the Republican Movement. This document declared the aims of the Movement to be the securing of a 32 County Democratic Socialist Republic with guaranteed rights for all citizens.

On August 21, just after internment, a convention was held in Monaghan, to discuss a proposal for establishing regional parliaments for the country with representatives present from 12 organisations, and other observers also attending, including some from Australia, Britain and the United States.

The first proposal, from the Army Council of the IRA, was that a parliament for the historic province of Ulster, to be called Dáil Uladh, be set up. Adopted unanimously, the motion entailed the formation of a body to be known as Comhairle Uladh to implement the decision.

A plan of campaign calling for publicity for the ideal, and organisation to achieve it was then agreed upon. The meeting also decided to encourage and co-ordinate a campaign of civil resistance to British rule, and for the release of all political prisoners.

An officer board was appointed and arrangements made to formulate a constitution for Dáil Uladh. This draft constitution was finally adopted at an Ulster Convention in Monaghan on October 9.

Since then, conventions have been held in each of the other provinces and Comhairli Chonnacht, Mumhan and Laighean, as well as Comhairle Éireann, have been set up to promote the ideal of a New Ireland with regional parliaments, subject to a federal national parliament.

It was in September 1971 that the IRA first announced interim terms for a suspension of hostilities in Occupied Ireland. Announced on September 5, the British Government were given until midnight on September 9 to reply. Acceptance of the terms would have been reciprocated by the IRA suspending military operations.

No reply was received from the British and the war continued. As the headlines in "An Phoblacht" in October 1971 stated:— "Tá ré na cainte thart — TOTAL WAR". The Irish phrase means: the time for talking is over. Announcing the ceasefire, the IRA statement said in full:

"The Leadership of the Republican movement, mindful of the terrible plight of the people of the Occupied part of our country who have suffered death, injury and imprisonment at the hand of the British forces operating in Ireland, feel that every effort should be made to end the agony of our people. Accordingly we submit the following interim proposals to the British Government and the other interested parties :

"Public acceptance of those proposals would, we believe, bring immediate peace to a long suffering people and merit the gratitude of the British and Irish peoples:

1. *An immediate cessation of the British Forces campaign of violence against Irish people.*
2. *Abolition of the Stormont Parliament.*
3. *A guarantee of non-interference with a free election to establish a regional parliament for the historic province of Ulster as a first step towards a new Governmental structure for the 32 Counties.*
4. *Release of all Irish political prisoners tried and untried in England and Ireland.*
5. *A guarantee of compensation for all those who have suffered as a result of direct and indirect British violence.*

"Acceptance of the above proposals by midnight, Wednesday, September 9, 1971 will be reciprocated on the part of the IRA by a suspension of military operations.

"Rejection of the proposals will leave the IRA with no option, only to

intensify its campaign of resistance to British military rule in Ireland".

There was no reply from the British, and the war continued.

The Sinn Fein Ardfheis on October 23-24 in Dublin's Liberty Hall was the largest and most enthusiastic since the 1920's and was indicative of the new-found strength and determination of the Movement.

A message from the Army Council of the IRA declared that the defensive and retalitory stages of the struggle in the Occupied area were over and that the Army was now on the offensive.

The cheering delegates were told that the imposition of internment on August 9 had not disrupted the Army to any significant degree and that it was now stronger than ever before.

Part of the text of the Army Council message said :

"The Army Council send greeting to our fellow Republicans and comrades of Sinn Féin assembled in Ardfheis in this historic year of 1971. *At long last it can be said that the struggle for the Republic has entered into the decisive phase of Saoirse nó Bás. Since the last Ardfheis much has happened on both military and political fronts.*

"On the military front our fight has changed from a defensive role to defence and retaliation and then eventually to an offensive campaign of resistance in all parts of the occupied area.

"The imposition of internment on August 9, *did not disrupt our organisation to any significant degree; indeed the Army today, almost three months after internment, is stronger than for many years; our organisation is intact; the Army has come through a tough new phase — battle hardened, ready to face up to the hardships of the final phase which of course will be more intensive than anything experienced so far.*

"At this crucial stage in Irish history the need for a strong Republican civil and political wing is greater than ever before. The need to organise mass support for our people in the North is greater than ever before.

"The struggle in the North is not the concern of the Northern people alone. Their fight must be made the concern of every man and woman throughout the length and breath of Ireland. It is therefore the duty of all Republicans to spreahead the drive for nationwide support for the Northern people in this their hour of need.

"It is also necessary for the political wing to give the correct leadership on Social and Economic issues. In this regard we note with satisfaction the publication of the Eire Nua document as a first step towards the economic freedom of our people. Above all, Sinn Fein as the political wing of the Republican movement must ensure that it will be in a position to act decisively once the military victory has been won.

"To this end, the Army Council, conscious of the need for a political settlement consistent with National honour and the Republican objective, exercised its lawful Governmental powers on August 15 *by calling for the establishment of Déil Uladh, a regional parliament for the province of Uladh.*

"The Dail Uladh proposal was the first new political thinking in 50 *years. It is a radical revolutionary proposal that can hasten the end of the Unionst regime of Stormont and the Free State regime at Leinster House alike. Much effort had been put into this proposal and considerable support has been forthcoming so that substantial progress has been made not only by Uladh but also in the neglected province of Connacht.*

"We strongly urge all of you to fully support the regional government plan and to do all you can to extend it to your own province.

"This revolutionary political action is of course the first step towards the establishment of an entirely new political system designed to replace the foreign system that was imposed on our people by the invader.

"That system means stark terrorism and nothing less. Yet repressive measures are not confined to the Six Counties. Here in the 26-County state Republicans from the North are imprisoned in Mountjoy — living proof of the collaborationist treachery of the Lynch Government."

The statement continued to condemn internment, call for full support for the civil disobedience campaign in the North, support for the Irish language restoration effort, and condemnation of the continuing slanders by leaders of the NLF on the IRA.

The first important calls by responsible British opinion-makers for British withdrawal from Ireland started to come in the latter months of 1971. Typical of these calls was an article in the New Statesman by the magazine's former editor Paul Johnson. In this article Johnson reviewed the position from the beginning of Stormont 50 years earlier. Coming to the position as of August 1971 he stated that the IRA were no longer "a handful of cranks, mostly from the south" (sic) but were now "guerillas, operating from the base of active popular sympathy". In 1973 these calls for withdrawal were becoming much louder and stronger.

The British Army had been made "ridiculous", he argued, and the Dublin Government who had been told by British Premier Heath that the North was none of their business had assisted Britain in every possible way, had in fact "stood idly by".

Johnson concluded that Britain must "dissengage from Ireland", and suggested "direct administration from Westminister" as a means of transferring responsibility to an all-Ireland government.

"Only when this objective is accepted as an inescapable political fact will violence cease to pay dividends", he said.

In the 26-Counties, the Dublin puppet-government were not standing idly by. Harrassment and jailing of Republicans continued unabated, as did open and covert collaboration with the enemy.

As the people became more aroused and critical of the antics and gimmicks of Lynch and his henchmen, the Leinster House lackeys observed correctly the way the tide was flowing.

Having failed to completely subvert newspaper editors and journalists, and not having any success with their leaked threats of internment and other dire punishments on Republicans, the Dublin government placed a ban on the appearance of Republican leaders, either military or political, on radio and television.

This was the first major step in a deliberate planned campaign of mind-conditioning which continues to this day. The object of this campaign is to condition the Irish public to a state of abject submissiveness to the British line, so that any deal on the north will be passively accepted.

In conjunction with the RTE ban and other measures, Free State politicians of all hues delivered a flurry of speeches all over the country and abroad, both in person and through the media, all the time mis-representing the aims, objectives and actions of the Republican Movement.

To answer these lies a statement was issued by the leadership of the Movement on December 18, 1971 to clarify the Republican position.

The statement pointed out that IRA volunteers were forbidden to use arms against 26 County troops and police, even when under extreme provocation; that internment would not be accepted passively and that the Republican Movement would continue with the struggle in the north and was "confident of victory unless there is a repetition of the treachery of 1922".

It was also pointed out that Lynch was under considerable pressure from the British government and from right-wing elements in the 26 Counties to use military force against Republicans. Such actions could only benefit the British, the IRA stated.

Finally the blame for the northern situation was placed not only on the British government, but also on successive Dublin Governments who had "completely failed to produce any worthwhile policies to achieve the full National objective of a free and Gaelic Ireland".

It was also pointed out that if Lynch and the other politicians were sincerely concerned about the plight of the northern minority he would use all the means at his disposal to ensure the British acceptance of the IRA proposals for suspension of hostilities, and would declare his acceptance of the regional parliament ideal.

9 Bloody Sunday

The new year 1972 opened on a sad note for the Republican Movement with the accidental death in Dublin of Jack McCabe, a senior member of the G.H.Q. staff, Irish Republican Army. Jack who was born in 1916, was a veteran of the 1939 Campaign in England and after being sentenced to 20 years penal servitude, was one of the last two men released in 1949.

After almost 40 years service in the Movement, his death on December 30 came as a great shock to all who knew him. When the August pogroms of 1969 took place, Jack had once more volunteered for service to the cause, and he worked relentlessly to end the curse of British imperialism for all time.

Meanwhile the war continued with the enemy suffering heavy casualties week by week. Sabotage operations continued daily over a wide area and administrative, commercial and industrial targets were hit with telling effect.

The failure of all the might of the Crown Forces to subdue the IRA was well-known by now, but only a few weeks earlier, on December 20, the British G.O.C. in Occupied Ireland, General Sir Harry Tuzo admitted publicly that his army had failed.

In an amazing admission of impotence in an RTE interview he said he would not predict when the war would end and said of the IRA campaign: "Its obviously an activity that could be carried on until they choose to desist finally from what they are doing".

About this time a representative group of well-known Protestant leaders from the Six Counties met IRA leaders and had discussions on the situation. These Loyalists expressed great interests in the IRA policies for regional and community government and stated that they viewed some form of united Ireland in the near future as inevitable.

At this time the nationalist areas of Derry city were under community control, and defended and policed by the IRA, the people's army. Several attempts were made by the British Army to infiltrate Creggan, Bogside and Brandywell, but were all repulsed, with severe casualties on the enemy side. The British were confined to mainly fruitless searches on the perimiters of the nationalist areas and the removel of outer barricades.

Utter frustration was building up on both the loyalist political and British military fronts. Almost daily came reports of Unionist Party members, and even branches, joining Ian Paisley's Democratic Unionist Party, while on the military side indiscriminate shooting, searching and other forms of intimidation and harrassment became an hourly occurance.

On January 2, more than 10,000 people marched in Belfast to protest against internment, while bishops, politicians and other opportunists raved against the "men of violence" — never criticising the British Army "men of peace".

In the south Lynch used his political police to do his master's bidding in continued jailing of Republicans.

In London the British Government took the first steps towards Direct Rule, though it was not admitted as such at the time. On January 3 it was announced that a separate department in the Foreign Office had been set up to deal with Ireland, under the charge of a diplomat with counsellor rank.

Some time earlier, Mr. William Whitelaw then leader of House of Commons, had been quoted as favouring such a move. Mr. Whitelaw was also a member of a special committee inside the British Cabinet which had sanctioned Faulkners plan for internment and torturing of prisoners.

On the war-front, two explosions took place on January 27 in Palace Barracks, Hollywood, Belfast, scene of the most notorious torture operations against civilians and members of the IRA. As was often the case in explosions in British Army and R.U.C. posts, no casualty figures were released, though on occasions it is known that several soldiers died.

The Derry Massacre on January 30, 1972 will never be forgotten. The planned genocide in which 13 died while taking part in a peaceful parade equals in its horror all the many sadistic acts of genocide by State forces in the history of mankind.

The mass killing was not an accident, but was a premeditated manouvre hatched up by the British Land Commander, General Ford and Lt. Col. Derek Wilford, O/C 1st. Battalion of the Parachute Regiment. Wilford has since been decorated by Her Majesty, Queen Elizabeth of England, for his part in the sadistic murder of Irishmen.

Corporal Peter McMullan deserted from the Paras on January 27, three days previously, because in a briefing by officers, they were told to "shoot to kill" during the civil rights march.

The plan was not just a military one, but was approved by the Stormont "Security Council", of which Brian Faulkner was a member.

Volumes have been written about the Derry Massacre, and in years to come many more volumes will further indict the British Army. In this booklet we have not the space, nor is their a need, to give the full horrific details, but some quotations from eyewitnesses will suffice :

Fulvio Grimaldi, Italian photo-journalist — "I have travelled in many countries. I have seen many civil wars and revolutions and wars. I have never seen such a cold-blooded, organised, disciplined murder, planned murder", and

"I saw a young fellow who had been wounded crouching against the wall. He was shouting 'don't shoot, don't shoot'. A paratrooper approached and shot him from about one yard. I saw a young boy of about 15 protecting his girl-friend against the wall and then proceeding to try and rescue her by going out with a handkerchief and with the other hand on his head. A paratrooper approached, shot from about one yard into the stomach, and shot the girl in the arm".

Ivan Cooper (S.D.L.P.) — "I could see the British Army systematically picking off people who had been lying down and who were trying to run away".

Lord Fenner Brockway (British Labour Peer) — "It seemed a perfectly peaceful procession to me. In fact, I've never seen a more peaceful march".

Rev. Edward Daly, St. Eunan's Cathedral, Derry — "I stopped to administer the Last Rites, and while holding a handkerchief over my head

and lying on my stomach, administered the Sacrament. Even while I was doing this, another young boy was shot only yards away."

Rev. Dennis Bradley, Church of the Long Tower, Derry — "Some of the troops seemed to be enjoying it. I saw some of them laughing and making crude jokes as the people fell".

In contrast to the eye-witness testimony of thousands of Irishmen, Irishwomen and Irish children, and that of Englishmen, Italians, Frenchmen, Americans and others, the British propaganda machine was soon in action, spreading the lie that the troops had been fired on first and attacked by thousands of IRA men.

Here is the text of a press release issued by the "British Information Service" (sic) in New York on February 1. The reader can judge for himself the credibility of British statements:

BRITISH INFORMATION SERVICES

Policy and Reference Division

Febraury 1, 1972 Policy Background

2/72 *Northern Ireland: Londonderry*

On January 31, the Defence Department in London provided a detailed account of the events in Londonderry on the previous day in which army units were involved.

The march in Londonderry on January 30 was held in contravention of the Government's ban on all processions and parades. This ban of course applies to both communities in Northern Ireland.

(On January 18 the Prime Minister of Northern Ireland Mr. Brian Faulkner announced the extension for a year of the general ban on processions and parades. This had originally been introduced last August 9 for a period of six months in order to put no extra strain on the security forces. Making the announcement, Mr. Faulkner said: "It is . . . clear that in present circumstances those who take part in public processions or parades not only put themselves at risk but expose members of the security forces in situations where they are open to attack . . .").

Of the 13 men killed in the shooting that began after the bulk of the 3,000 marchers had been peacefully dispersed, four were on the security forces' wanted list. One man had four nail bombs in his pocket. All were between the ages of 16 and 40.

The shooting started with two high-velocity shots aimed at the troops manning the barriers. No one was hit and fire was not returned. Four minutes later a further high-velocity shot was aimed at a battalion wire-cutting party. This shot also was not answered.

A few minutes later a member of the machine-gun platoon saw a man about to light a nail bomb. As the man prepared to throw, an order was made to shoot him. He fell and was dragged away.

Throughout the fighting that ensued, the Army fired only at identified targets — at attacking gunmen and bombers. At all times the soldiers obeyed their standing instructions to fire only in self-defence or in defence of others threatened.

The bulk of the marchers dispersed after reaching the barricades, on instructions from the March Stewards. A hard core of hooligans remained behind and attacked three of the barriers. When the attacks reached an unacceptable level, the soldiers were ordered to pass through and arrest

as many as possible. They were not, however, to conduct a running battle down the street.

As they went through the barriers the soldiers fired rubber bullets to clear the streets in front of them. They made 43 arrests.

The troops then came under indiscriminate firing from apartments and a car park. The following is the army's account of the return fire:

(1) Nail-bomber hit in the thigh; (2) Petrol-bomber, apparently killed in the car park; (3) bomber in the flats, aparently killed; (4) Gunman with pistol behind barricade, shot and hit; (5) nail-bomber shot and hit; (6) Another nail-bomber shot and hit; (7) Rubber bullet fired at gunman handling pistol; (8) Nail-bomber hit; (9) Three nail-bombers, all hit; (10) Two gunmen with pistols, one hit, one unhurt; (11) One sniper in a toilet window fired on and not hit; (12) Gunman with pistol in 3rd. floor flat shot and possibly hit; (13) Gunman with rifle on ground floor of flats shot and hit; (14) Gunman with rifle at barricade killed and body recovered.

Other troops besides the paratroopers were fired at, the army report stated. Four shots were fired at a foot patrol. One round was returned and the gunman was hit. Three shots were fired at another foot patrol and one round was returned. No one was hit. Two low-velocity shots, one of which hit a soldiers flak-jacket, were fired at a foot-patrol. Two rounds were returned followed by further rounds at the gunman, a minute later. There was no hit. A burst of automatic fire was also met with a single round from the soldiers in return.

In separate incidents, two other gunmen were hit by return fire".

Were it not for the suffering and tragedy of Bloody Sunday, that "official" account of the proceedings could be regarded with hilarity. It is probably still the official version of the masacre, despite all that has been written and said by many of the thousands who were present and know the facts. In concocting it, the British were not even able to come anywhere near making it close to the actual sequence of incidents.

It will go down in history as one of the least successful and most blatently untrue cover-up stories of all time.

It was at the request of the people of Creggan, Bogside and Brandywell that the IRA were not present when the massacre occured.

The IRA men were in fact back in the Creggan area at the time the marchers reached Rossvill Street. The local command feared that with Creggan deserted, the British would invade and take possession of the area.

No doubt the British hoped for an IRA presence in the Bogside when they started murdering the defenceless people. This would have given them the greatest propaganda coup since the IRA began defeating them. Public opinion in Ireland and abroad would have been turned against the Freedom Fighters if it could be shown that the IRA were "responsible" for innocent deaths in a shooting match.

As was their usual custom on "important" occasions, car loads of Free State politicians went north for the funerals of the Bloody Sunday victims, and made emotional pretentious statements on the horror of it all. These statements convince the 'faithful' that all is right with the politicians and exculpate them of their guilt in the affairs.

To set the record straight, the IRA issued another statement on February 1, which was suppressed completely by two papers, the 'Irish Times' and the "Irish Independent" and given only in a brief synopsis by "The Irish Press". **The full text was:**

"The cornerstone of all colonial power rests on force. This is true of the Russians in Hungary and Czechoslovakia, of the French in Algeria and Indo-China and of the British in Ireland. If it was necessary to convince anyone of this truth then the unprovoked massacre of innocent civilians in Derry on Sunday last will do so.

"British rule in North East Ulster rests on the bayonet and has continually done so since the partition of Ireland fifty years ago.

"We note that official representatives of the three main 26-County political parties are to be at the funerals of the latest British victims.

"Fine Gael is the party which first accepted Partition. It collaborated with Britain in its establishment and executed 77 Irishmen who resisted their effort to leave a section of the Nationalist majority living under the heel of the reactionary regime in Belfast. In recent times this same party has consistently called for repressive action against those in the 26-Counties who are aiding the fight against British occupation and the leader of the Party was responsible for exposing and wrecking a plan by people in the 26 counties to import arms for the protection of the Six County Nationalists.

"When the news of the Derry massacre was announced, the leader of this Party, Mr. Cosgrave, demanded the immediate withdrawal of British forces from Ireland. Why is Fine Gael calling for this now?

"A lot of bloodshed and suffering could have been avoided if that Party had not accepted the Partition settlement 50 years ago or had since made any effort to have it ended.

"Fianna Fáil which has been in power almost continuously during the past 40 years has done nothing to bring about the unity and independence of this country. Whenever Republicans have attempted to do so they have been jailed and interned by this Government and at present 14 Republicans, the majority of whom are natives of the Six Counties are serving terms of imprisonment of up to six years in the 26-Counties for taking part in the present campaign in the Occupied area. The police and army in the 26 counties are actively collaborating with British forces in the Six Counties.

"The Irish Labour Party recently adopted a policy which states that the British Occupation of Northest Ulster must never be ended by force but flies in the face of reason when it is now obvious that this occupation is maintained by force. Despite the fact that the Labour Party has been in power for only a short period during the past 50 years as part of a Coalition Government, its Minister for Justice, Mr. Everett, was the first man to arrest and jail Republicans during the Resistance campaign against British Occupation forces in 1956.

"That section of the Nationalist majority living under the heel of Britain in Ireland has been a constant cause of embarrassment to all 26-County politicians. It is now a real threat to their continued existence as politicians.

"They have no sympathy with the sufferings of our fellow Irishmen and their only reason for attending the funerals is because they wish to stay on the crest of the political wave.

"But by their fruits you shall know them and the present situation in the Six Counties is to a large extent the result of reactionary policies and dereliction of national duty on the part of all Leinster House Politicians."

10 Truce offer spurned

The war continued with increased ferocity throughout the occupied area over the next two months. On January 31, ten major operations were carried out in Belfast and Strabane and on February 2, for example, five bombs exploded in the centre of Belfast. Operations were also carried out in Armagh City, Co. Armagh and other centres.

In the 14 days up to February 8, a total of 320 operations took place. By the time the IRA called a unilateral cease-fire in March, some 1,000 operations had been executed with civilian casualties about nil. As was the IRA policy, warnings were given in good time when bombs were placed, except in attacks on British Army posts or personnel.

Republicans continued to escape from the British: on February 7, a 24-year-old Belfastman, Francis McGuigan, became the first man to escape from Long Kesh Concentration Camp. Another Republican, Billy Kelly has escaped from Long Kesh since.

Some IRA volunteers lost their lives in premature explosions — four of them died on March 11 when an electronic device on a British Army vehicle triggered off a bomb in a house in Clonard Street. Earlier, on March 2, Volunteer Albert Kavanagh was shot dead by the R.U.C. after he surrendered. He was unarmed when captured on a sabotage operation.

The British Army was taking a hammering from the IRA once again (remember that the IRA had been pronounced "dead" on many occasions) and as they had done before, and have done several times since, the British authorities decided to make civilians suffer. On March 4, a bomb exploded without warning in the Abercorn Restaurant in the centre of Belfast, killing two women and injuring 136 others. Some of the victims suffered ghastly injuries, and the British propaganda machine launched a massive world-wide publicity campaign based on this incident.

The IRA stated clearly that it was not responsible for the bomb; no one has ever been brought to justice for it.

Another anti-civilian action by the British Army concerned a bomb which exploded in Donegall Street, Belfast on March 20, killing two R.U.C. officers and four civilians, and injuring 146 others. As was proven afterwards at the inquest, a warning had been given by the IRA, but was ignored by the British.

On March 10, 1972 the Leadership of the Republican Movement once again issued peace proposals and "as a gesture of the sincerity of the Leadership" the Army Council of the Irish Republican Army ordered a unilateral cease-fire for 72 hours. The statement also called for "a positive response" from the British Government. The full text was as follows:

"*The leadership of the Republican Movement wishes to state that the following conditions are considered necessary to secure peace in the present conflict between British and Irish forces:*

1. *An immediate withdrawal of British armed forces from the streets of Northern Ireland coupled with a statement of intent as to the*

eventual evacuation of H.M. Forces and an acknowledgement of the right of the Irish people to determine their own future without interference from the British Governmnt.

2. *The abolition of the Stormont Parliament.*
3. *A total amnesty for all political prisoners in Ireland and England, both tried and untried and for all those on the wanted list.*

"As a gesture of the sincerity of the leadership of the Republican Movment to secure a just and lasting peace, the Army Council of the Irish Republican Army has instructed all units to suspend military operations for a period of seventy-two hours, beginning at midnight, Friday, March 10th and terminating at midnight, Monday, March 13th, 1972.

"The right to engage in defensive action is being reserved.

"A positive response to the above demands on the part of the British Government will result in a continued suspension of military operations by the Irish Republican Army.

"A negative response will leave the Irish Republican Army with no cption but to renew the Campaign of military resistance to British occupation."

The IRA truce was another effective demonstration of Republican strength and discipline and created a major impression all over the world. Only one unit of the Freedom Fighters near Newry, Co. Down inadvertently broke the truce, a few hours after it was to come into force. This was due to a difficulty in communication, as the unit had been in position for an ambush for a time.

Meanwhile, the enemy did his utmost to "make hay while the sun shone" and carried on with harrassment, intimidation and arrests.

If the British government thought that the IRA truce was called from a position of weakness or of imminent defeat, they were in for a rude awakening. Apart from continuing with various forms of oppression, no positive response was forthcoming from London and within 48 hours of the ending of the truce, the enemy faced a full-scale 'blitzkrieg' from the Freedom Fighters, heralded by nine major operations on March 13 in Belfast, Derry City and Strabane.

Over 100 economic targets were hit and enemy casualties were substantial. As the April edition of An Phoblacht, the organ of the Republican Movement, noted: "The politicians had their opportunity, they ignored it and the IRA showed that it was far from beaten. In fact, its renewed vigour has shown in no uncertain terms that despite the hammering meted out to the nationalist population during the last seven months, it is going from strength to strength".

One politician who now appreciated that the IRA must be taken seriously was Mr. Harold Wilson, the Labour Party leader and former British premier. A statement on March 20 from the IRA told of a meeting with him :

"A request by Mr. Harold Wilson to meet leaders of the Republican Movement was conveyed to the leadership of the Movement on Monday, March 13th, 1972. As a result, three Republican leaders met Mr. Wilson and presented him with a copy of the Irish Republican Publicity Bureau statement of March 10th announcing the suspension of military operations.

"The three leaders impressed upon Mr. Wilson that the demands outlined in the statement were the minimum requirements necessary to

secure a continued suspension of operations. They urged Mr. Wilson to use his good offices with the British Government to secure acceptance of the demands and thus pave the way for a just and lasting solution to conflict between Britain and Ireland.

"The three leaders also made it clear to Mr. Wilson that a negative response from the British Government would leave the Irish Republican Army with no option but to renew the campaign of military resistance to British occupation."

Another Republican escape at this time was that of Sinn Fein Ard-Chomhairle member, Tom Concannon from Baggot Street Hospital on March 12. Tom was under an armed Special Branch guard and was to be returned to Mountjoy Jail after treatment. Over one year later he had still not been apprehended.

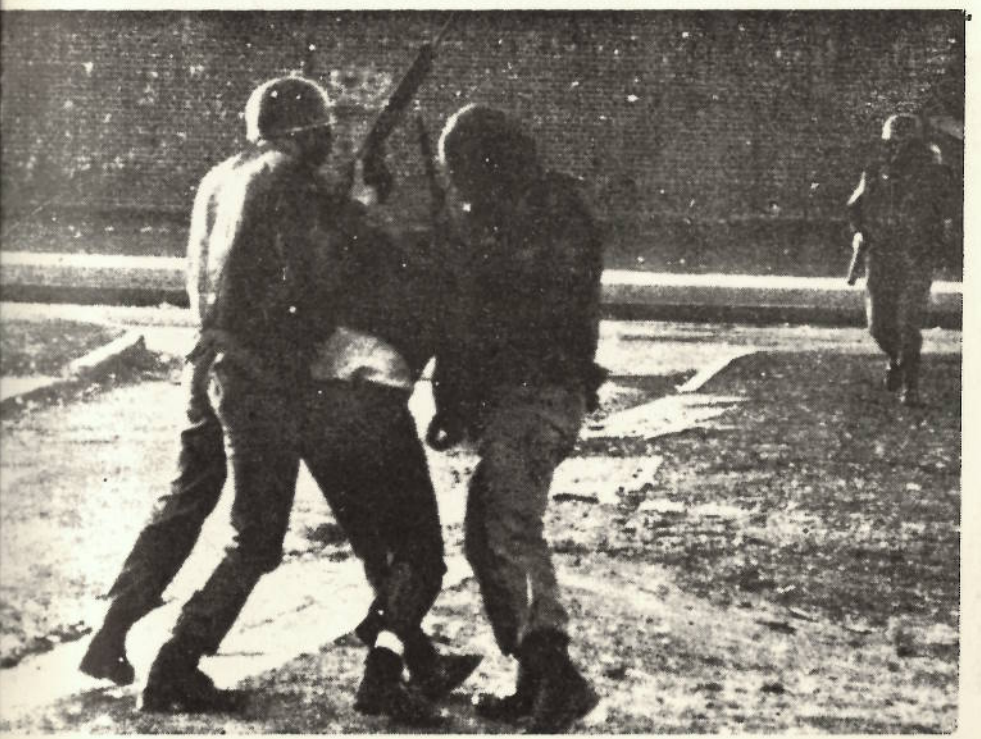
On March 14, two members of Derry Brigade, IRA were shot dead as they walked unarmed along a street. They were Colm Keenan and Eugene McGillen, two more of over 250 victims of deliberate British Army shooting at unarmed civilians.

In the week following recommencement of hostilities, the IRA carried out 124 sabotage and anti-personnel operations in the Six Counties and enemy casualties were at least: 3 soldiers killed, 41 wounded: 1 R.U.C. killed and at least 4 wounded; 2 U.D.R. wounded.

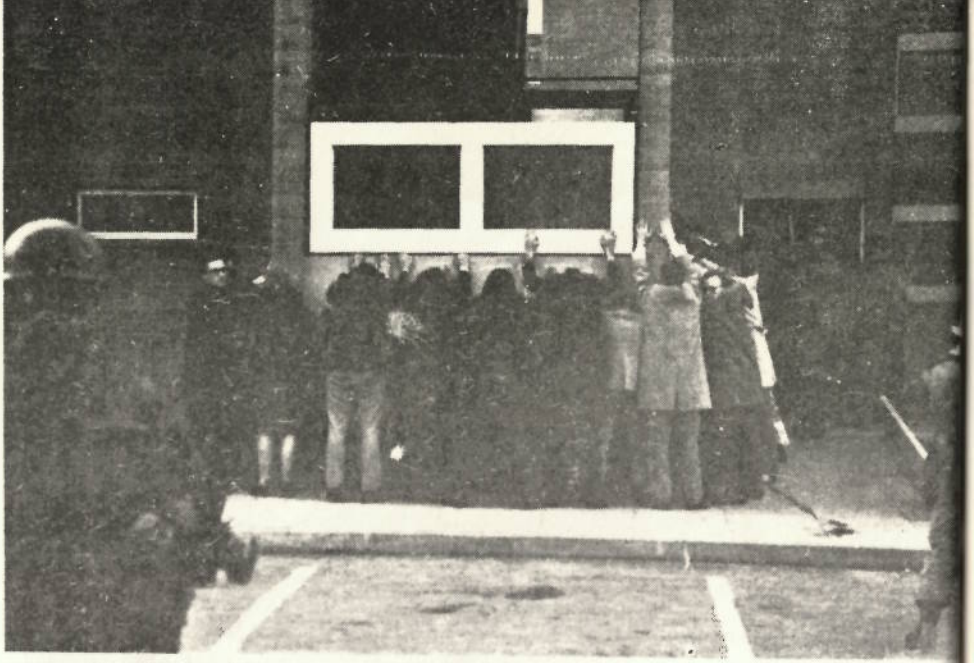
Bloody Sunday: a sense of loss.

Bloody Sunday: blood-spattered pavement, covered by civil rights banner, where Barney McGuigan was gunned to death by British paratroopers.

Bloody Sunday: another victim of the massacre is removed to safety.



Bloody Sunday: freedom struggle . . .



Bloody Sunday: mass arrests of civilians by British soldiers after the massacre.

11 Stormont abolished

Friday, March 24, 1972 will be recorded in history as one of the most momentous days in Irish history with the announcement from Edward Heath in London that he was prorogueing Stormont, suspending the Belfast puppet regime and imposing direct rule from Westminister on Occupied Ireland.

From the start, the IRA had campaigned to end Stormont, but not to have direct rule imposed as a solution to the Irish problem, as was made clear in a statement from the leadership on March 24 :

"The leadership of the Republican Movement rejects the Heath proposals as a solution to the Irish problem.

The imposition of Direct Rule is not acceptable to the Irish Republican Movement. The Movement has consistently opposed all forms of British Rule and through its activities the British Government has been forced to recognise the futility of Stormont Rule. By substituting Direct Rule from London the British Government has failed to recognise that only Irishmen, acting without interference, can solve the problem which besets our country.

"We, therefore, call upon all Irish people, irrespective of class or creed, to unite in opposition to this latest threat from Britain. We appeal especially to our fellow countrymen of the Protestant faith to refrain from any action which could assist England in imposing Direct Rule. British Armed Forces are standing by in England and Germany ready to move at a moment's notice to enforce the will of the Westminister Government. The powers of internment are now being exercised by the British authorities to coerce Irish people, irrespective of creed and all will suffer the brutalisation and effect of these Draconian laws.

"It is vital, therefore, that at this critical time the Irish people should abolish the memories of past dissension and stand in brotherly union asserting the right of the Irish people to be masters of their own destiny.

"The Republican Movement has chartered the way forward for the making of a new Ireland. The proposals to establish a new Ulster Parliament as a first step towards a new Governmental structure for the whole Ireland is more relevant than ever. We call upon all Ulster people to seriously examine the proposal and prove to the world that Irish people are quite capable of determining their own future without interference from a foreign power.

"We call upon the British Government to remove their armed forces from the streets and to specify a date for the eventual withdrawal from Ireland. Further military oppression will be met with increased resistance until eventually Britain will be forced to acknowledge that Direct Rule cannot work. We also demand the release of all political prisoners in Britain and Ireland.

"In conclusion we wish to state that at this critical juncture in the history of our country, it is incumbent on all Irish people to stand united in asserting the independence of our country.

"Centuries of British exploitation can now be ended and by acknowledging the common heritage we share as inhabitants of one Island, we can move forward to create a form of society which will bring peace and prosperity to all our people."

As was anticipated the 'moderates' came forward in full voice demanding that the IRA cease all military operations now that Stormont was gone. Some of these moderates even went so far as to disclaim the major part played by the IRA in having Stormont abolished — even though it was only prorogued for a year, officially, only the most optimistic unionist ever believed it would return in its old form.

The abolishing of Stormont came only days after 75,000 people attended a Vanguard meeting on March 18, in Ormeau Park, Belfast and heard William Craig declare: "We must build up dossiers on men and women who are enemies of this country, because one day, ladies and gentlemen, if the politicians fail, it would be our job to liquidate the enemy".

At the meeting were thousands of Ulster Defence Association members in full para-military uniform. Craig has since made "shoot to kill" calls to his followers, at meetings and on radio and television, and at the time of writing his followers, with able assistance from plain-clothes units of British soldiers have killed about 200 men, women and children.

While Catholics were being killed almost daily, by shooting and stabbing, following on Craig's "extermination" call, 'establishment' politicians and churchmen continued their calls for a unilateral cease-fire by the IRA. To propogate their cause, these 'moderates' aided the British Army 'black' propaganda department to spread the rumour that some IRA units wished to give up the struggle. These rumours were firmly scothed by the scale of IRA operations, and by a statement from the IRPB on April 6:

"A meeting was held today between representatives of the Army Council, G.H.Q. staff, and officers from every one of the Active Service Areas in Occupied Ireland including Belfast and Derry city. All Northern Officers reported that there was 100 per cent support in their units for the stand taken by the Republican leadership against the British proposals.

"Similar messages of support were conveyed to the meeting from the Republican prisoners in Long Kesh, The Maidstone, Magilligan, Crumlin Road, and Armagh Prisons.

"The meeting strongly condemned those responsible for the repeated demands for a unilateral truce by the I.R.A. while completely ignoring the three point plan issued by the Republican Movement on March 10 last. On that occasion the Republican leadership suspended operations for 72 hours.

"The truce was not observed by British troops who took advantage of it and arrested a number of men in Belfast. The arrests continue and in fact the number of men arrested over the past nine days exceeds the much publicised number of releases, very few of whom were released unconditionally.

"We note with great concern the action of our comrades on the Maidstone ship and Magilligan camp who have been forced to resort to the Hunger Strike weapon in protest against their continued detention and the deplorable inhuman conditions which they are forced to endure. This hunger strike now enters its second week.

"We call upon Irish people the world over to support the demands of

the internees for their unconditional release and we appeal with confidence to all those of Irish birth and descent to give all support possible to the Republican Movement in its struggle for Irish Freedom.

"We strongly deplore the increasing number of bitter personal attacks on individual members of the Republican Movement. The recent personal attacks on one leading member of the Republican Movement are reminiscent of the bitter attacks made on Republican leaders who refused to compromise in 1921.

"We repeat, we would only suspend our operations if our three points are accepted by the British Government. Acceptance of these points will lead to a lasting peace in Ireland and will enable the people to work out the future of their country without foreign influence and interference."

In further answer to those who would submit to British crumbs, the Belfast Brigade weekly newspaper "Republican News" gave a direct, uncompromising answer in its Easter Week edition :

"The most momentous day in modern Irish politics — saw the fall of the Ulster Bastille, Stormont. And the fall of that Bastion of Orange supremacy was a splendid victory for the Irish people, marking as it does, the end of an era, and the commencement of the final stage of our struggle for complete independence from foreign bondage.

"But let us not deceive ourselves nor be deceived by unscrupulous propaganda from our enemies foreign or domestic. We have won a major battle. It may yet prove to be a decisive battle. But we have not yet won the war.

"But the war can and will be won. Final victory is assured if we do not allow ourselves to be conned by Heath and Maudling at Westminister or their unprincipled hirelings, Fitt, Hume, Currie, etc., at home. Why did Mr. Heath abolish Stormont? And why were his initiatives so long delayed? The answer is obvious. Heath hoped and believed that Mr. Faulkner was right when he said: "The rats are on the run". A military solution would have solved all his problems. With the IRA defeated he knew that politicians would revert to their normal role of fawning subservience.

"So, month after month he waited while Faulkner promised victory for October, November, Christmas, the new year, February, etc., etc. Meanwhile, top men were arrested with monotonous regularity and as information literally poured in British Intelligence uncovered supply sources for arms and explosives and many "Bomb Factories" were discovered.

"Surprisingly, in spite of all this, British casualties increased and the I.R.A. introduced a new weapon, The blockbuster' — with devastating effect and blew Faulkner's propaganda to smithereens. So, Heath, a much sadder and wiser man, was FORCED to reject Faulkner and turn to that well tried and tested tactic so beloved of the British — DIVIDE AND CONQUER. And this is the only purpose behind Mr. Heath's sudden change of heart. Taken together, the people and the I.R.A. are invincible. Apart, they can be defeated — and then God help us.

"Who is to divide them? Heath and Maudling are well aware of their own inability to achieve such an objective. But they are pinning their hopes on their Irish agents, Hume, O'Brien, Fitt, Kennedy, etc. These are the men who can do untold harm at the present time when genuine, responsible leadership is all important.

"Let us remember our history and this time let us be wise BEFORE the event. In 1921 *this country was betrayed by politicians (who received*

the official blessing of Maynooth) when her gallant soldiers had brought her within sight of victory. Those politicians had the very same reasonable arguments that are being put forward today. (1) We have won a major concession; (2) An independent Republic is bound to come soon; (3) Give peace a chance; (4) There has been too much violence, death and destruction; (5) Talk will achieve more than the gun, etc., etc., ad nauseam.

"Are these arguments valid? Have we won a major concession? Only if we can show the Northern Unionists that they have been shamefully betrayed by their British masters and convince them that their destiny lies with us — co-operating in building a peaceful and prosperous united country. But, that opportunity apart, the British initiative means the continuation and extension of British rule in Ireland, the continuation of the Special Powers Act, internment, British 'justice' etc. Is that a suitable basis for a truce? Does it not really mean — unconditional surrender?

"Is a United Ireland likely to follow from this initiative? So the politicians said in 1921 and yet, now fifty years later, it is again the I.R.A. and not the politicians who have brought the subject into focus. And if we stop now is there any reason to think the next fifty years would be any different? Has not Mr. Heath indicated that Stormont has merely been suspended and that the future destiny of the whole country will be decided by the minority — the Northern Unionists? Would this be accepted by any self-respecting nation?

"The feeling of revulsion against death and destruction is one everyone must share. But did the betrayal of '21 prevent death and destruction or did it merely prolong the national agony and eventually increase the number of deaths. Following that sell-out we had to endure a bloody civil war followed by Unionist pogroms and I.R.A. campaigns in every decade of the past fifty years. So the compromise solved nothing and there is no reason to suppose that another surrender of principle would lead to anything other than a very temporary cessation of hostilies.

"Will talk achieve more than the gun? YES, DEFINITELY YES. And the I.R.A. are more than willing to talk. We have said many times that we detest this war with its suffering and misery and we speak from first hand knowledge of that suffering and misery. We would much rather settle our difference in a civilised way. But let one point be very clear. It is the British, not we, who still refuse to negotiate. We have made very few, very simple and very reasonable demands the granting of which would lead to an immediate truce. Given even such a suggestion of goodwill and sincerity from Westminister we are ready to put forward our proposals for a final solution to the Irish problem — a solution eminently just, reasonable and democratic.

"Supported by the people, we have fought this struggle. With the continued support of the people we shall win.

"He bears a grave responsbility who would attempt to alienate that support. As Republicans, we readily uphold the principle of freedom of speech and we concede the right of everyone to his own opinion. But those who are presently engaged in spreading enemy propaganda in an attempt to split the people, and who are issuing false statements in an attempt to portray the I.R.A. as a divided organisation, are abusing that right. While we shall uphold the principle we shall not tolerate its abuse in the service of the enemy."

Throughout these first months of 1972, the 26-County authorities in-

creased their collaboration with the British, and large numbers of Republicans were jailed. Conditions in Mountjoy were becoming intolerable as the prison was by now over-populated by some hundreds.

It was not surprising then that on May 18, Republican prisoners took over the inner section of Mountjoy Jail and released scores of prisoners, as a protest against their condition and to focus public attention on the inhuman degrading state of the jail.

Free State troops in full riot gear and equipped with CS gas attacked the Republican prisoners and many men were seriously injured. As well as the gas, batons, rifle butts and even loaded rifles were used by Irishmen against Irishmen whose only crime was to try and free their country of British oppression.

On the following day, 200 prisoners were moved to various other places of detention, and Republicans were placed in Curragh cages, surrounded by barbed-wire, and armed guards.

The action of the Lynch government in ordering the attack on Mountjoy showed how little they had learned from the northern struggle. They did not yet know that military means cannot succeed in keeping the just demands of people from being heard.

In contrast, ten British soldiers who crossed the border into the south were released a few hours after their arrest, on orders from the Lynch government. (This has happened once again, as we write: six armed British soldiers, four in uniform and two in civilian clothes were released on orders from the Cosgrave government shortly after Belfast Republican Joe Cahill was sentenced to penal servitude along with two colleagues. The soldiers were members of the notorious M.R.F. — a special killer squad of the British army. Despite public protests, Garrett FitzGerald described the soldiers release as "appropriate".)

The prisoners who protested had objected to bad food and inadequate recreation time (they had been locked up in their cells for up to 19 out of 24 hours each day. Their demands, made peacefully many, many times, were met with naked force. At least they had the satisfaction of almost burning the prison down and forcing the Free State to carry out renovations which should benefit other prisoners.

At this time — April-June 1972 — there were many important develepoments on the political front. The Republican Movement was among the groups active in opposing the Common Market. Though defeated, Republicans can feel proud of the tremendous effort made in spite of the many difficulties involved in spreading the message of opposition. Most important of these was the still existant ban on Republican spokesmen appearing on RTE radio and television, and the almost monopoly position of the pro-E.E.C. forces in media publicity.

Already, the stand taken by the Republican Movement has been fully vindicated as thousands who voted for entry in the 26-County referendum have found to their cost. If space permitted, whole speeches made by Republicans could be quoted, and paragraph by paragraph many of the warnings given about rising prices, loss of jobs, etc., would be seen to have happened.

On May 26, the Lynch government established the Special Criminal Courts, in which Republicans would be tried by three Free State 'Judas' judges without a jury. Five days later, the President of Sinn Fein, Ruairí Ó Brádaigh — who was actively campaigning against the E.E.C.; — and

Belfast Republican Joe Cahill were arrested under section 30 of the Offences Against the State Act. On June 1, Mr. Sean Ó Brádaigh, Publicity Officer of Sinn Fein, was also taken into custody.

In Derry, a press conference was told by Republican leaders, that community elections were to be held, to establish democratic rule in Free Derry.

On June 5, Mr. William Whitelaw pledged that "There can be no question of negotiations with people who are shooting at British troops", during a visit to Derry.

In Belfast Jail, Republican prisoners staged a hunger strike starting in early May, and the Prison O/C, Billy McKee, went on thirst strike as well on May 23. Republican prisoners in Armagh Jail joined the strike on May 29, to support the demand for political status.

A statement from the IRA on June 3, told that many meetings had taken place over the previous six months with northern representatives and that the possibility of an all-Irish Conference on the future of the country was very strong. Through their 'phone-tapping and informer network, the Lynch government (and their British allies) were well aware of these development, which caused some panic in Leinster House circles.

With the arrests of some Republican leaders, all-out but unsuccessful efforts were made in the south to arrest others. Even if all the known leaders had been arrested, contingency plans had been prepared to take care of such a situation.

On the military front in the north, the war gathered momentum. On June 12, the Derry Guildhall was wrecked by an IRA unit who carried two 100 lbs. bombs through armed British troops, placed them, and escaped again.

In the next five days, at least five British soldiers were killed and many wounded.

12 The fragile peace

Following the abolition of Stormont, the loyalist people felt betrayed, bewildered and lost. The traumatic effect of losing their citadel of supremacy exposed Faulkner and his clique as weak, shortsighted men incapable of providing leadership for their own followers at a time of crisis. The pathological histrionics of William Craig and Ian Paisley appealed more to the loyalist community, and mass meetings were held threatening ruin and desolation.

The U.D.A. emerged publicly with big marches in Belfast and the setting up of a 'no-go' area in Woodvale (Belfast). Sectarian killings became an every day event and widespread attacks took place on Catholic owned public houses.

Believing that the loyalist people of Ulster would find an identity in the context of the Irish nation as a whole, the Republican Leadership intensified their efforts to sponsor an All-Irish conference. Discussions were held with Protestant leaders and with a group called Conciliation Ireland who were also promoting the idea of such a conference.

Mr. Jack Lynch's action in arresting Republican leaders sabotaged the scheme and destroyed what promised to be a major breakthrough in securing peace.

In early June 1972 it was decided to make a bold approach to Whitelaw. An invitation was issued to him to meet Republican leaders in Free Derry to discuss the IRA peace plan. If he accepted the invitation, the IRA guaranteed to suspend offensive military action for a period of seven days. Within hours, Mr. Whitelaw rejected the offer and pledged he would never speak to people "who are shooting at British troops".

The same day, he was having his first meeting with a group of hooded members of the U.D.A.

Whitelaw's rejection of the IRA peace offer brought an angry reaction from leaders of the Nationalist community. Some of those who had previously called on the IRA for peace demanded a reconsideration by Mr. Whitelaw. John Hume and Paddy Devlin, two S.D.L.P. MPs travelled to London on June 16 and had discussions with Whitelaw.

On their return they contacted Republican leaders with terms on which a meeting could take place with a view to negotiating a truce. These terms were rejected by the IRA and the following conditions were demanded of Whitelaw before any truce talks would begin :

(a) The immediate granting of political status to Republican and Loyalist prisoners;

(b) The immediate release of a senior officer of the Belfast Brigade from internment;

(c) Written credentials from the British representatives to show they would be speaking with the authority of the British Secretary of State;

(d) Any truce talks to be on the basis of the truce being bilateral;

(e) Truce terms to be put in writing and witnessed by an agreed party;

(f) A meeting between Mr. Whitelaw and representatives of the Republican Movement to take place a certain number of days following the implementation of the truce in order to discuss and secure acceptance of the IRA peace plan, viz :

(i) A declaration acknowledging the right of the Irish people to self-determination;

(ii) A commitment to withdraw British armed forces from Ireland by a specific date;

(iii) A general amnesty for all political prisoners in Britain and Ireland.

All the above conditions were conceded by Mr. Whitelaw and his decision conveyed to the Republican Movement by Messrs. Hume and Devlin on Sunday, June 18, 1972.

Two days later, negotiations took place between representatives of the British Government and the IRA. These talks resulted in a truce coming into operation at midnight June 26.

It was agreed at the talks that Mr. Whitelaw would publicly acknowledge accepance of a bilateral truce and that he would make arrangements for a secret meeting to be held on July 7 between himself and Republican leaders.

The truce was announced to the public by a statement from the IRA on June 22, which said :

"The Leadership of the Republican Movement believes that a bilateral suspension of operations would lead to meaningful talks between the major parties to the conflict. The Movement has formulated a peace plan designed to secure a just and lasting solution and holds itself in readiness to present it at the appropriate time".

Later that afternoon, Mr. Whitelaw announced to the British House of Commons that the Crown Forces would reciprocate, and in a further statement that night the IRA announced:

"The Leadership of the Republican Movement accepts this afternoon's statement by Mr. Whitelaw as an acceptance of a bilateral suspension of offensive operations from midnight, June 26, 1972".

Before the ceasefire became operative, five more British soldiers and a member of the R.U.C. died in IRA operations.

From midnight on June 26, a fragile peace descended on the North. All IRA offensive military activity ceased and there was a noticeable pull-back by British troops from the streets.

The IRA volunteers had reason to be proud. They had destroyed Stormont and fought the British Army to a standstill. The Mex Army post in Derry was evacuated and in reciprocation, three minor barricades were dismantled.

Mr. Whitelaw had promised various peace groups that internees would be released once hostilities ceased and an air of optimism pervaded that a just and lasting solution would emerge from the forthcoming London talks.

Meanwhile, Republican prisoners in the Curragh, most of them from the North, resorted to hunger strike in protest against the treatment they were receiving.

Sectarian killings continued unabated during the truce. In all, 18 people died in "mystery killings" at the hands of UDA-UVF and/or Bri-

tish Army SAS units. No members of the Crown forces or IRA died, except one soldier who was accidently shot dead by his own comrades.

During the first week of the truce the UDA established a number of permanent 'no-go' areas throughout the North. Intimidation of Catholic families in mixed areas became widespread. The U.D.A. confronted the British Army in Ainsworth Avenue on July 3 and Maj. Gen. Forde, the director of the Derry Massacre, bowed down before their threats and reached an "amicable solution". In effect it meant that Catholic families hemmed in behind the U.D.A. barricades were on their own without the so-called protection of Her Majesty's Forces.

During the second week, British troops began probing into Republican Free Areas. An attempt was made to strengthen an army garrison in Corry's timber yard in Ballymurphy, but that was halted by decisive action on the part of the local IRA commander. Several breaches of the truce were reported to the British without any satisfaction being received.

On July 7, two British officers were arrested in Free Derry but were later released by the IRA.

The London talks took place on July 7. At the talks the Republican delegation presented the IRA peace plan and sought acceptance of it. Mr. Whitelaw undertook to place the plan before the British Cabinet and convey a reply at a further meeting which was to be held on July 14.

It was agreed that the truce would continue in the meantime — Whitelaw giving an assurance that sectarian killings would be brought to an end and Catholic families in U.D.A. areas protected from intimidation.

When the Republican leaders returned to Ireland they were informed of the rising tension in Lenadoon and of the arrest of two volunteers in the Markets area of Belfast. The British authorities were contacted and an asurance was received that both matters would be put right.

Discussions continued on Saturday and Sunday in an attempt to resolve the Lenadoon crisis and secure the release of the two IRA volunteers. Boyd and Canavan, who were later sentenced to a total of 18 years imprisonment. The situation was greatly aggravated by British troops and R.U.C. attacking innocent people in Portadown on Sunday morning. All these acts were a clear violation of the truce and eventually the breaking point was reached when British troops used batons, gas and bullets on homeless people in Lenadoon on Sunday, July 9. An IRA statement on the following day gave further details:

"During Friday's meeting, Mr. Whitelaw gave a personal assurance that the wanton killing and intimidation of people in Belfast by Unionist extremists would be brought to an end. He assured Republican leaders that Catholics in U.D.A. no-go areas would be protected by the British Army.

"While Friday's meeting was in progress, two I.R.A. volunteers were arrested by the British Army in contravention of the truce. Requests to have them released proved futile despite the fact that two British officers arrested in Free Derry were released on the return of the Republican leaders from London.

"On Saturday evening, Mr. Frank Steele of Mr. Whitelaw's office contacted Republican leaders about the rising tension in Lenadoon Estate over the allocation of houses. It was pointed out to Mr. Steele that the Housing Authority had allocated 16 houses for displaced Catholic fami-

lies. Only four families were housed because the U.D.A. objected to Catholics obtaining houses in that area.

"A meeting was arranged for yesterday, Sunday, to resolve the situation. Due to the intransigence of the British Army representatives, no progress was made towards housing the displaced families.

"At 3.30 p.m., Mr. Steele was informed that the people of the area were determined to house the families. Mr. Steele stated that the British Army would oppose any such move as the U.D.A. would not tolerate it. At 3.50 the British Army moved in force into Lenadoon. The truce was broken by British troops searching cars and people. The brutality with which the troops opposed the displaced families was clearly shown on television.

"As late as 6.15 last evening, Republican leaders did their utmost to prevent a complete breakdown of the truce. Mr. Whitelaw was contacted and was informed of the position. He promised to look into the situation but nothing further was heard from him.

"At 9.15 p.m. the leadership announced the termination of the truce as British troops by this time were fully engaged in offensive operations. It is blatently obvious now that the British Army is allowing itself to be an instrument of U.D.A. sectarianism and while that position obtains, the I.R.A. has no option but to defend the beleagured people of the north."

A group representing the displaced families, Anderstown Central Civil Resistance Committee issued the following statement :

"We hereby record the result at three meetings concerning the Lenadoon housing dispute.

"The first meeting was held in Black's Road Army post at 9 p.m. on Thursday night, 6th July. Those present were representatives of the British Army, the Housing Executive, the Andersonstown Central Civil Resistance Committee, the R.U.C. and representatives of the refugee families concerned in the dispute.

"The result of this meeting was that another meeting was arranged to take place at the headquarters of the Northern Ireland Housing Executive. Those present on this occasion were: Representatives of the British Army, the Housing Executive, the Protestant community, the homeless families and the A.C.C.R.C.

"It was decided at this meeting that, since the Protestant representatives had no prospective tenants for the houses, the allocation should be made to homeless families.

"The third meeting was held that night in Hannahstown Hall. Present were the British Army, a Housing Executive official, members of the A.C.C.R.C. and a number of homeless families with their representatives.

"It was agreed at this meeting that legal tenancy would be given to SIXTEEN families, four of which would be installed that night. The remaining TWELVE families were to be given legal tenancy at a date not specified.

"The FOUR families were installed in the specified houses as stated; some opposition was met with from the U.D.A. at the time.

"The British Army had a further meeting with the U.D.A. on Saturday morning and, because of an ultimatum laid down by the U.D.A., the British Army informed the representatives of the homeless families that they would not permit the twelve remaining tenants to take possession.

"They also requested the four families which had taken up residence to vacate the houses.

"The next day (Sunday) an attempt was made to install further families as had been previously negotiated with the authorities; this attempt was thwarted by the British Army which attacked the people and the furniture-laden lorries. C.S. gas and rubber bullets were fired extensively into the crowd.

"We challenge Mr. Whitelaw to explain the background to the instructions given to the Army, as it would appear that the sectarian threat of the U.D.A. takes precedence over the human and legal rights of homeless and intimidated families."

The fragile peace, so warmly welcomed by all right-thinking people was at an end and a new and more brutal phase of military agression was about to begin. Within hours of the breakdown six people, including a priest, had been foully murdered by the British in Ballymurphy and 1,200 extra troops were flown in.

On July 10, in a leading article under the heading "The truce ends" the Cork Examiner said :

"No matter how sympathetically one views the admittedly difficult role of the security forces in the North, it is impossible to exonerate them from almost total culpability for the new and tragic situation which has developed. It is bad enough that Catholics should be denied admission to houses allocated to them. It is bad that they should be goaded into a protest march. It is bad that this protest should be batoned and bludgeoned, as have others before it. But it is infinitely worse that in the repression, the British Army and the U.D.A. should be seen shoulder to shoulder. If the end of the I.R.A. truce is tragic, it is also understandable. Yesterday's provocation was more than Northern Catholic flesh and blood could stand."

The Cork Examiner leader went on to say that "reduced to its essentials", the IRA had kept its bargain, and "the British Army has not", so that it seemed the community had to pay the price "of its hamfistedness and blatent partiality". The paper said that it was impossible to equate the treatment meted out to the Lenadoon homeless "with that given to Protestant extremists who are openly flouting the law and raising barriers wherever and whenever they think fit".

The Cork Examiner leader added : "The question which must be asked is: did it amount to this, that the U.D.A., having might on its side, was to be allowed to do almost what it wished, while the Catholic population, which already fears another pogrom, was to be handled with all the rigour of the law (sic)".

The U.D.A. were pleased with the truce breaking down. They joined forces with the British Army in attacking Republican areas. The IRA hit back and before a week had passed British forces suffered 14 fatal casualties and hundreds wounded.

There was obvious relief in Dublin Government circles also that the truce was over. One clear indication of this is shown in a story written in the Irish Times on July 11, by Michael McInerney, a bitter opponent of the IRA and an ever-ready mouthpiece for Jack Lynch. Under the heading "London secret talks blow to Lynch", McInerney wrote :

"There was no statement from the Dublin government yesterday about the ceasefire in the North or the House of Commons statements

yesterday, but the news that the Secretary of State for Northern Ireland, Mr. Whitelaw, had met the Provisionals came as a shattering blow to Mr. Lynch and his Government.

"Those negotiations have created an extraordinary new situation for the Government, as Mr. Whitelaw has in effect recognised the Provisionals and in one view he saw them as a body which was "representing Ireland". It will be held by many people that the British Government by-passed the Dublin Government by negotiating with the IRA. The meeting could have something in it approaching a constitutional crisis and certainly has in it all the ingredients of a major Anglo-Irish crisis.

"Mr. Whitelaw's statements give no guarantee that he will not meet the Provisionals again. Such attitudes cannot be welcome to the Dublin Government. It will be remembered that the Taoiseach was annoyed when Mr. Harold Wilson met Provisional leaders last March.

"The whole question of sovereign government arises here, but it might be said that when the country is believed to be on the brink of civil war then desperate remedies are permissable".

Two days later on July 7, McInerney wrote again thus : "The fact has to be faced that the Provisionals have established the right to act as national negotiators. By this, their status and prestige has been enhanced and the position of Mr. Lynch has been weakened. They have achieved their main target".

Lynch and his government were more concerned with loss of dignity than with loss of lives in the north. His government was exposed as a group of power hungry men with little or no consideration for the people of the North. Suppressing the Provisionals was more important than standing up to the British.

Resistance to British aggression was pursued relentlessly. On Friday, July 21, the Belfast Brigade carried out a series of 22 operations. Warnings were given in each case but in two places they were ignored by the security forces and two soldiers, two R.U.C. reserve policemen, one UDR and four civilians died as a result.

Belfast Brigade IRA accepted responsibility for the bombs, and pointed out that warnings were given, but had been deliberately withheld by the British Army. As could be expected, the object of withholding warnings was achieved, and public opinion turned against the IRA.

A full documentation of the IRA operations in Belfast on July 21 was published as a pamphlet by the Belfast Comhairle Ceanntair Sinn Fein, under the title "Friday — the Facts". In a report on this pamphlet on July 29, a Belfast newspaper, The Irish News, stated that two organisations, the Samaritans and the Public Protection Agency confirmed to the paper that in fact, as the IRA had claimed, warnings of the bombs had been given and passed on by them to the R.U.C. in all cases.

The P.P.A. confirmed to the Irish News that they passed on the warning of a bomb in Cavehill Road, *one hour and* 13 *minutes* before the blast, and the warning of a bomb in Oxford Street, 30 *minutes* before it happened. (At the inquest on the fatalities some months later, the bus depot manager confirmed that he had received the warning of the Oxford Street bomb, 30 minutes, before the blast and that he too had passed it on to the British Army).

The Sinn Fein pamphlet said that the IRA had ordered their active ser-

vice units to launch a massive campaign in the centre of Belfast to hit as many economic targets as possible.

They said: "Twenty-two bombs exploded. Warnings were given of the whereabouts of all these bombs and ample time was given for the security forces to evacuate the areas concerned. But in the cases of the explosions at Oxford Street bus station and the Cavehill Road shopping complex warnings were completely disregarded at the expense of nine lives".

Dealing with the Oxford Street explosion, the document says: "The active service unit involved phoned warnings to three separate services — one direct to the R.U.C., one to the "Belfast Telegraph" and one to the Public Protection Agency, who relayed the information again to the R.U.C. giving them a second warning. The bomb exploded 30 minutes after the second warning killing four civilians and two members of the British occupation forces. Why was this information withheld from the Irish public?"

On the Cavehill Road explosion the document says: "The active service unit concerned phoned three warnings to each of the three services mentioned above. The R.U.C. were informed also of this bomb by the P.P.A. and a woman shopper in the area. These warnings were given an hour and 13 minutes before the explosion took place. Three people died due to neglect. What was the motive behind the RUC's apparent lack of concern where the lives of civilians were involved?"

The document goes on to state that there is no mystery about the reason the security forces did not act on the warnings.

"At the time of these warnings Irish politics were in deadlock and quickly stagnating. Whitelaw needed to find a gap in the two walls of opinion which were closing round him. On one hand the U.D.A. were making strange noises about 'Peace and Grace' running out, while the Republican Movement continued its campaign for freedom.

"That Friday's fatalities were used by Whitelaw to bring justification to the acts of further terrorising the Catholic community and wrecking their homes with contempt cannot, at this point, be denied.

"The crocodile tears and pious revulsion expressed by this man is beyond contempt. The seven people who died are just pawns in a game to him.

"No tears were shed by him when he, as a back room politician, was responsible for ordering the troops to massacre 13 innocents in Derry City."

The document says: "The Republican Movement, unlike the British always admits the truth whether it is distasteful or not. We do not cloud the issue by false reports based on half-truths. For years now English politicians have told lie after lie about events in Northern Ireland. These run in a long list — the Widgery report, the Compton report and now "The Whitelaw Report", a report of events as distorted as all the others.

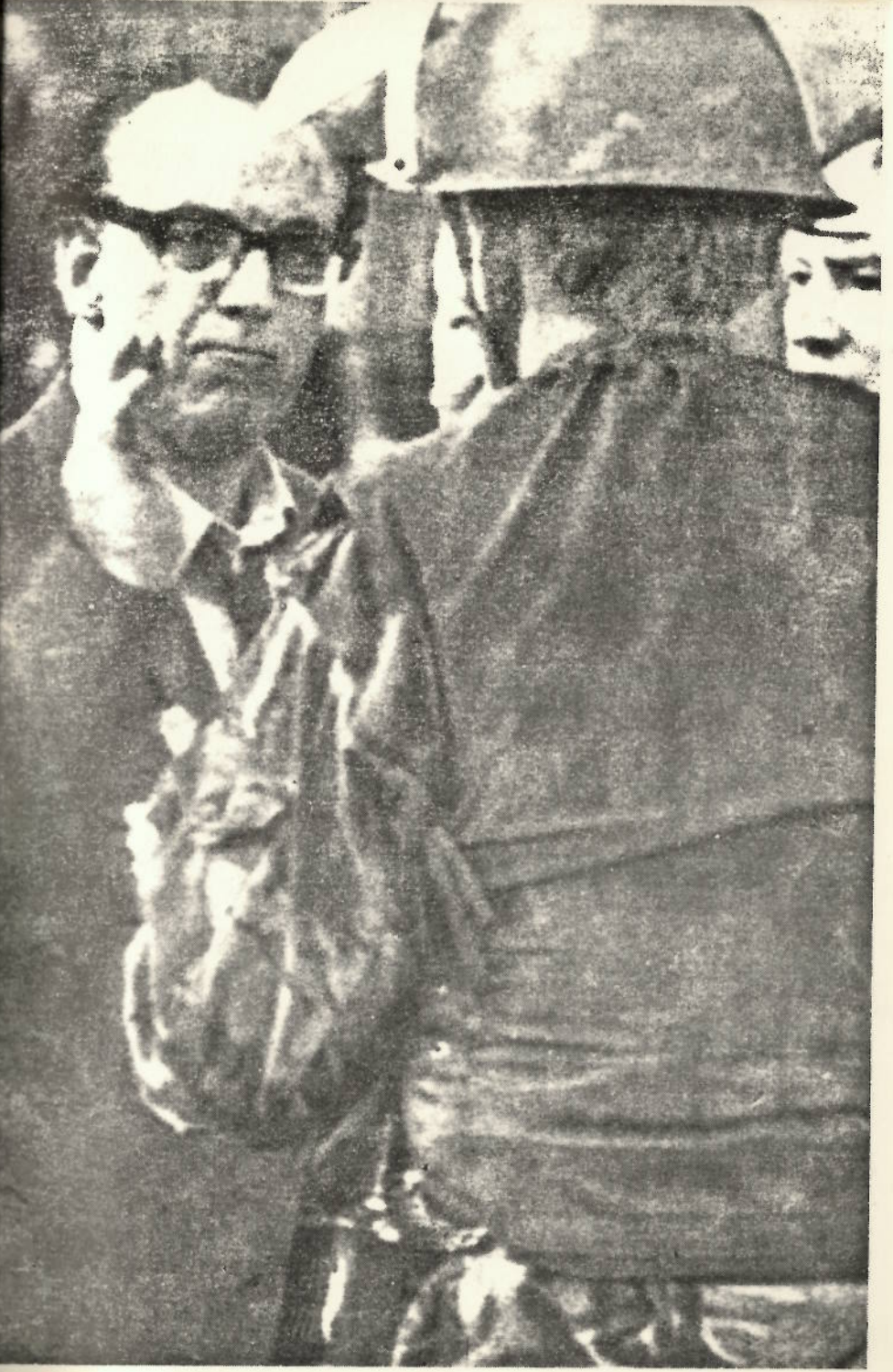
"No one who has studied the situation in the last three years can deny that the British are liars, with the intention of splitting the people. When has the Republican Movement lied to the people? Why should they lie to the people? The people are the Republican Movement. We extend sincere sympathy to the relative of those who died so needlessly".

On the evening of the attacks, Mr. Whitelaw stated on television that no warnings whatsoever had been given. The following night he ordered "certain operations" against the IRA and British troops launched an all-

out attack on Andersonstown, New Lodge, Ardoyne, Ballymurphy and the Falls.

Massive gun-battles raged in all five areas as the IRA resisted the advance of British forces. The enemy failed to over-run the areas and it was announced that a further 4,000 troops would be called in.

The prelude to "Operation Motorman" had begun and the fragile peace so courageously established by the IRA was well and truly dead.



"You will not brutalise Irish people" — Republican leader, Séamus Twoomey warns British troops, Lenadoon, July 9, 1972.

IRA ambush, near Crossmaglen, (Co. Armagh).

Sorting the mail in Bogside . . .

Volunteer with RPG. 7 rocket-launcher

patrol

sniper

13 Black propaganda and oppression.

As sectarian killings continued almost daily, the British sent in 4,000 more troops on July 27 with the intention of ending the nationalist free areas in Derry and Belfast.

In the south, demands for political status were conceded to Republican prisoners in the Curragh and Portlaoise, and a hunger strike ended.

By July 30, extra troops and heavy armoured vehicles including Saracens and Centurion tanks were moved into position and in the early hours of the following morning the expected invasion — Operation Motorman — took place.

The British authorities expected this to be a final extermination of the IRA (as is clear from the build-up, both political and military) but, as planned by the Republican leadership in advance, volunteers and their arms had prudently slipped away. The net result was the reoccupation of these areas by the British army, but the IRA were still intact and poised ready to strike the next blow at the enemy.

On July 31, three car bombs exploded in the village of Claudy, Co Derry, killing six local people and injuring 32 more.

The IRA disclaimed responsibility and in a statement pointed out that: *"Obviously, such actions can only suit the British Military to divert attention away from their mass invasion of nationalist Derry, Belfast and other towns."*

The statment added: *"The leadership of the Republican Movement condemns the Claudy bombings and we repeat that our units were not responsible and tender our condolences with the relative of the victims".*

In the same statement the British military invasion of nationalist areas was commented upon :

"In accordance with a pre-arranged plan our units in Derry City, Belfast and other towns avoided an open confrontation with the massive British military forces that occupied the nationalist areas of these towns today. This decision was taken in order to avoid heavy civilian casualties that would have occured if open resistance had been employed. Our struggle will continue in accordance with the principles of guerrilla warfare".

This type of action — the deliberate massacre of "sympathetic" populations in order that the blame be laid on the guerilla force operating among that population — had already been used by the British Army in this campaign and all over the world in similar situations.

One of their leading "counter-insurgency" experts, Brigadier Kitson (whose handbook on this subject was used in preparing the Derry Bloody Sunday massacre, many other shootings of civilian, and also the withholding of warnings in Belfast in March and on Bloody Friday), is a leading exponent of these tactics.

Kitson's tactics also encourage the use of random killings (such as the mystery assassinations in Belfast and other northern towns) of civilians, both overtly and covertly, the aim being to alienate the guerilla force

from its public base and popular support, and to create divisions among sectors of the public, from which only the enemy and collaborationist opportunist politicians gain.

Kitson's tactics in short, have been responsible for the deaths of several hundred people in the Six Counties to this date.

Inside a week after Operation Motorman, most active service members of the IRA were back in position and on August 4, a British soldier was shot dead in Andersonstown, with two more being killed in a mine ambush near Lisnaskea, Co. Fermanagh on August 6, and on the following day another soldier and a member of the UDR are killed.

On August 8, thirteen bombs went off in Belfast and Derry, causing much damage but without civilian casualties, as members of the S.D.L.P. continued their talks with Whitelaw which had started on the previous day.

During Operation Motorman, the main G.A.A. grounds in the north, Casement Park, Belfast, was taken over by the British Army as a post. At a protest rally on Sunday, August 6 the British Army was told that their soldiers would have to leave Casement "either in coffins or in jeeps".

On August 14, a British Army Major, the commanding officer at Casement, and a private, were killed when a claymore mine was detonated at the stadium.

During August, there were several hundred IRA operations, and by August 23, a total of 100 bombs had been planted. By August 25, at least 74 British soldiers; 15 UDR, 9 RUC and 2 RUC Reserve had been killed. By September 2, the total number of British soldiers killed had risen to 116 (since 1969).

The almost daily assassinations of civilians continued throughout August, despite all the promises by Whitelaw to end them. IRA casualties at this time were eight killed in action.

Over the past few months the UDA had been active in Belfast, despite threats by Whitelaw to deal with them. While Republican men and women had been jailed for wearing "para-military" uniform, no action was taken against similar action by UDA members. Tension between the British Army and the UDA increased to such an extent that on September 6 the UDA stated that the brutality of the troops of the 1st. Parachute Regiment had to be seen to be believed. They demanded that "these men be taken off the streets of Ulster (sic) and sent back to the jungle where they would be more at home".

Republicans had often warned loyalists to expect this type of treatment from the British Army, if such suited British policy. Such warnings had gone unheeded. The very next day, September 7, two loyalists were shot dead on the Shankill Road and large arms finds were made in premises in Loyalist areas, including some in the UDA H.Q. in Wilton Street.

Inside a week, the UDA announced that plain-clothes British Army S.A.S. units are operating from two centres in Belfast — information that had been given by the IRA long before.

Mr. Whitelaw was arranging his Darlington Conference to open on September 25. The Republican position on this conference was stated clearly in a statement on August 28, when it was described as "an attempt by a British politician to achive a British solution to an Irish

question". A boycott of the conference was called for, and succeeded.

The statement added that the IRA proposed an all-Ireland conference of all interested parties and demanded again a public declaration from the British Government of the right of Irish people as a whole — North and South — to decide the future of Ireland.

Whitelaw had invited seven politcal groups — not including the Republican Movement — but only three attended. The Republican boycott was successful and the conference was the expected failure, despite the warm welcome for it from southern politicians.

The British propaganda machine, aided by opportunist politicans north and south, moved into full gear against the IRA. The lies and distortions which had been recognised as such and condemned by journalists — including British journalists — over the past two years, were mild in comparison to what was now being issued.

It was sadder in a way that the erstwhile Republicans of the N.L.F joined in the chorus.

The Sunday Times, which had earned many tributes for fair reporting and editorials, carried a report on October 1 of an alleged interview with a leading Republican, Sean MacStiofáin, which never took place, while in the same edition, another reporter wrote a completely distorted version of a interview with Sinn Féin president, Ruairí Ó Brádaigh. Two English papers, the Observer and the Telegraph carried scurrilous attacks on MacStiofain and were aped by the "Sunday Independent".

In September, the Observer broke the news that a "leading member of the Provisional IRA". Maria McGuire, had "defected". This paper, which never failed to show its enmity to all things Irish, proceded to carry stories by the same woman "denouncing" the IRA and Sean MacStiofain. These stories contained slanderous lies of a personal nature concerning leading Republicans.

At regular intervals around the same time, newspapers carried stories of alleged splits in the Republican Movement, both as a result of McGuires "revelations" (sic) and other fantasy reasons.

Irish newspapers, became more interested in sensational copy rather than the truth, and aped and repeated every line of slander in the British papers. Indeed, they henceforth vied with one another in their search for the most sensational. So much for their national pride.

(One interesting result of this massive British propaganda effort is that Lisburn Lies are now more readily acepted as 'truth' by the Irish newspapers, as can be seen daily in the manner in which British Army claims are treated. To that extent one could say that the British effort was successful).

Southern politicians started questioning the credibility of IRA statements as their contribution to the national effort. In their meeting in Munich (how apt!) Mr. Heath publicly ordered Jack Lynch to deal with the IRA, as "revealed" deliberately in British newspapers.

The British were clearly losing the military war and were, admittedly, thanks to the gullibity and lack of national consciousness of many Irishmen and Irishwomen, doing very well in the black propaganda war.

In several statements the IRA referred to the propaganda war. It was pointed out, for example, on September 2, that Maria McGuire was never a member of Óglaigh na hÉireann and that she had in fact been severely

reprimanded by Sinn Féin for advocating policies which were contrary to Republican principles.

A statement, on October 2, referred to the propaganda war and said, in part :

"The propaganda war now being waged by the British exceeds anything waged by the British Information Service since World War Two — this is an indication of how serious the British view the military situation in the North. The British propaganda war will fail just as their military effort in Occupied Ireland has failed.

"The leadership of the Republican Movement will not hesitate to take whatever action is necessary to protect the interests of the Movement, and as of now all interviews with British journalists, both T.V., Radio and newspapers are ruled out".

On the same day, an IRA active service unit executed three members of a British army undercover unit, who were operating in Republican districts disguised as laundry service employees, and others in a flat on the Antrim Road. The total number killed was five intelligence agents, but the British only admitted to one man.

A statement on October 2 indicated that the IRA had been shadowing this undercover unit for some time, and that IRA Inteligence was aware of other such groups operating in various guises — ice-cream rounds, etc. — all over the north.

It was pointed out that some of these groups were responsible for many of the "mystery" killings of both Catholics and Protestants, and possibly for the explosions at the Abercorn Restaurant, McGurks Pub and other places — incidents which benefited only the British Government and British policy.

As pointed out earlier in this story, such groups were used to implement Kitson's "counter-insurgency" theories, and had been so used in Cyprus among other places.

The depths to which the Dublin Government were prepared to go to damage the Republican Movement reached a new low when the Sinn Féin offices in Kevin St., were closed under the Offences Against the State Act, on October 6. The closure order, for three months, also covered a premises in Blessington Street which was used for nothern refugees.

In the raid on 2A Lr. Kevin Street the Dublin Special Branch confiscated all the Sinn Féin files, and the parcels of agenda for the forthcoming Ard-Fheis.

They might not have bothered: when the Ard-Fheis convened on October 28 over 800 delegates were present.

To add spice to the occasion, seven prisoners escaped from the Curragh Concentration Camp.

In all the actions and utterances of 26-County politicians throughout this period one continuous line or strand of strategy was becoming obvious: a dovetailing of Dublin policies with those of London, particularly in mind-conditioning the people of the south for a British-imposed solution of the Six County problem.

One important way of doing so was the banning of Republicans from radio and television, and the use of parliamentary and political correspondents to misrepresent Republican policy. Everything possible was done — and is still being done — to facilitate British policy on the north.

The Army Council statement to the 1972 Sinn Féin Ardfheis reviewed

the current situation in the war and called for accelerated revolutionary political action from the organisation. A special appeal was also made for a better response to a request for more funds for An Cumann Cabhrach.

Whitelaw's Green Paper was published on November 1, and among other items it provided for the holding of a plebiscite "on the border question". As the delegates to the Sinn Féin Ard-Fheis had been told some days beforehand :—

"It is certain that before conceding defeat, the British Government will try to impose another settlement, advantageous to British Capitalist interests in this country".

The Republican Movement rejected the Green Paper and its implications out of hand, as stated in an editorial in An hoblacht, on November 12. A call was made to boycott the plebiscite — a call which in due course was answered with such telling effect that practically no mention has been heard since of the same plebiscite.

All-out efforts continued in the south to capture leading Republicans — while all the time the war continued in the north, and extreme loyalists and British undercover units continued their killing of Catholics.

On November 19, Seán MacStiofain was arrested and went on a hunger strike. Six days later, in a state of collapse, he was sentenced to six months imprisonment for being a member of the IRA. The events leading to his arrest led to the dismissal of the RTE Authority for refusing to penalise a journalist who would not betray the confidence of his sources of information, regarding an interview with leading Republicans. Four young men are serving long sentences for attempting to release MacStiofain from the Mater Hospital.

On November 22, Desmond O'Malley, the south's so-called Minister for Justice, introduced a new oppressive measure, the Offences against the State (Amendment) Bill, which among other penal clauses would allow unsubstantiated evidence in Special Criminal Court cases from a Chief Superintendent that he believed a person to be a member of the IRA.

It appeared that the O'Malley Bill would be defeated in Leinster House when bombs went off in Dublin, killing two people and injuring 127 others.

Dublin, on December 1, then had its taste of a "Rheischtag" operation: as described by the British journalist Mary Holland, there was the spectacle of Leinster House deputies half-dazed with drink, shouting "Up the Republic" in the carpeted bars of Leinster House, voting almost en bloc (with a few honourable exceptions) for the Nazi-type law which would further eliminate the civil and humanitarian rights of Irish citizens.

How Edward Heath, and the aristocratic and capitalistic overlords of Britain, must have whooped with delight when they learned of the abject submission of the Irish parliamentary lackeys.

On December 21, an English citizen, John Wyman, a self-confessed British Secret Intelligence Services agent, and Patrick Crinion , a clerk in the Special Branch C.3 devision in Dublin, were arrested and charged under the south's Official Secrets Act. Eventually, at their trial, when the prosecution would not even let one of their own judges see "secret" documents which Crinnin had been giving to the British agent, both men were acquitted, and within hours fled to Britain.

14 Still no end

The New Year Statement from the IRA to the people of Ireland, at home and abroad, on January 1, 1973, pledged that the struggle would continue "as long as the British government persists in its policy of military repression".

The statement continued by remaining people of the sacrifices made by the nationally minded people of the north over the previous three years — *"unparalleled since the years* 1919-1922"; that the IRA had honoured its pledges given in December 1969 — *"to the extent that 75 soldiers of the Provisional IRA have given their lives while thousands have suffered torture and imprisonment"*; that enemy casualties were in the range of 200 dead and over 1,000 injured; that loyalist elements aided by British undercover units were engaging in cold-blooded assasinations of civilians, mainly Catholics, and it assured Britain of further casualties *"until her government recognises that policies which failed in Cyprus, Aden and Palestine will also fail in Ireland"*.

The offer previously made by the IRA to meet leaders of the U.D.A. was reiterated in the statement and invited Unionists once again to *"examine the proposals put forward for a new Ulster parliament based upon the historic province"*.

"The Movement has no wish to impose on the Protestant people of the North a system which would in any way deny them their full religious and civil liberties and indeed if such an attempt was made, we would oppose it as resolutely as we have opposed the present system over the past three years", the IRA statement continued.

"Furthermore, we do not propose the imposition of the culture of the national majority but rather the creation of those conditions which would draw on the best of the two dominent cultures in our society. As Republicans we merely want the Irish people to be free to decide on those kinds of institutions which they consider most appropriate to the needs of all the communities on this island and on the democratic control of the resources of the country".

Dealing with events in the south, the IRA statement commented on the passing of repressive legislation, muzzling of the news media and the harrassing of the political wing of the Movement and said that this was *"all designed to bolster British Government policy in the Six County area"*.

A warning was given that the Leadership of the Movement *"will not remain indifferent to the actions of Leinster House politicians who are assisting British rule in Ireland"*.

"Too much has been suffered by too many in this struggle for freedom and no Dublin politician will stand in the way of final victory".

Concluding, the statement reminded people of the outline programme issued by the Republican Movement for a "New Ireland" and reiterated the peace proposals first put forward in September 1971. The granting of these demands would result in a suspension of offensive military

action on the part of the IRA, it said, and would lead to a climate *"within which a just and lasting solution would be found to the problems which beset our country"*.

By the end of December 1972, sectarian murders in the north totalled around 110, and following a meeting between Whitelaw and Orange Order Leaders, the UDA issued a statement to the effect that it would crack down on the people perpretrating these deeds. At this time several members of the UDA were awaiting trial on charges of murdering civilians killed in these outrages.

Nevertheless, the IRA, in a statement on January 5, 1972 gave a cautious welcome to the UDA declaration, and once again offered to meet UDA leaders.

"Much can be accomplished by the leaders of the two communities getting together and devising ways and means to stamp out sectarianism for all time. Failure to do so can only benefit the British regime and prolong its rule to the detriment of all the people of Ireland", the IRA statement said.

This statement did not get as much prominence in the media as an earlier one containing a warning to the elements in the UDA did. That earlier one was construed as "IRA declares war on UDA". So much for efforts to achieve a just and lasting peace.

While sectarian killings did drop for a time, other counsels seemed to have prevailed, and by the end of January there was a marked increase once again on the scale of killings. On January 30, Mr. Tommy Herron, a UDA leader announced that his organisation would no longer try to prevent these murders and that the UDA could no longer control "Protestant extremists."

Another hooded body was found that night south of Belfast, the fourth in two days. Inside the next fortnight the numbers of these killings rose to over 20.

In the south, as in the north, Republicans were being jailed daily and extradition orders were being granted against Republicans wanted by the British authorities in the occupied area.

A speech by William Craig in Belfast early in February was noted with interest by the Republican Movement and a statement by Daithí Ó Conaill, vice-president of Sinn Féin, suggested that if Craig's speech meant "that the Orange Card will no longer allow itself to be played by the British Government, then a historical point has been reached in Irish History".

Craig had made political proposals for an independent Six Counties which however "do not commend themselves to Republicans", and he was invited to "have meaningful talks about a New Ulster creating a New Ireland".

The statement concluded: *"The British Government will do all in its power to prevent a New Ireland emerging. Her faithful allies, Lynch and Faulkner, will give every assistance to Britain to maintain her rule in Ireland. They can be defeated by loyalist and republicans realising who the real enemy is — the British overlord and the privileged power seeking politicians, North and South.*

"They have nothing to offer the Irish people but coercion, corruption and graft. Republicans and Loyalists can rise to the occasion, bury the memory of past dissensions, unite under the common name of Ulstermen and go forward applying our energy to create the dream of generations".

The fight for Irish independence was not confined to Ireland only. From the very start of the latest — and last — phase of the centuries old struggle, many loyal Irish people all over the world have played noble parts in the fight, and many have paid dearly.

Not only are hundreds interned and jailed in Irish and English prisons, and their numbers being added to daily, but in the United States of America, loyal Republicans suffered for their part in the war. The treatment meted to the Forth Worth Five received world-wide publicity, but many other cases are practically unknown to most Irish people.

An example here would be the sentencing of two San Franciscans to 16 months for refusing to answer questions to a Federal Grand Jury about providing guns for Ireland.

Space prohibits mention of other cases, but in time the full story of the sacrifices made by so many will be fully documented for posterity.

The work done by Irish Northern Aid in defending the Forth Worth Five and in contributing to the struggle for freedom merits a book in its own right.

15 We must not fail

The opening weeks of 1973 saw the attempted consolidation by the British Army of their hold over former nationalist no-go areas. There was a marked increase once again of civilians being killed, injured, harassed and tortured by the Crown Forces.

There was also a marked increase of activity against the British Army by the IRA, and this period also saw the introduction of a new IRA weapon, the RPG 7. As was obvious from comments by British officers and politicians, this development scared the hell out of the enemy — with good reason. In the previous few weeks the full editions of newspapers could almost have been given over to British claims on the arrests of IRA "officers".

Not only were there many IRA officers still around, but also there obviously were very many IRA volunteers, with hardware which they were putting to effective use. Since then other new weapons, including mortars, have been introduced.

The 'capture" of one of these rocket-launchers and a warhead, by the British soon turned sour — propaganda wise — when it was realised by everyone that the weapon in question was one of the most modern going. No wonder that hundreds of British soldiers were by now trying to buy themselves out. Hundreds have left in the year up to June 1973.

The British military saturation of nationalist areas, including some which for a long time had been liberated prior to Motorman, was fast coming unstuck with the increasing degree of resistance from the IRA.

The desperation of the occupation forces was shown in the shooting dead of six young men in New Lodge, Belfast on February 3. Two of those killed were unarmed IRA volunteers walking on the street and none of the men killed was engaged in any militant activity when the massacre occured.

It was symptomatic of the mind-conditioning which had taken place that this massacre, coming only one year after the Derry Bloody Sunday massacre, raised very little reaction south of the border. In fact none of other British Army and sectarian killings which have continued right up to June of this year have impinged on the conscience of the people or politicians in the south.

These killings include such incidents as a ten year old boy in Creggan in Derry (February 25) when the British Army triggered a landmine in a back garden; the shooting dead of a 13-year-old boy in Newry (February 28); youths shot dead in Armagh in April; a 13-year-old boy in the Ardoyne, by Paratroopers; in April; the Donegal man shot dead on May 17 near Pettigo, not to mention countless continuing "mystery" killings from passing cars and bombs.

Despite the increased scale of IRA activity during these months, only three civilians died directly as a result of them. While these deaths are regretted very deeply by the Republican Movement, the blame for them,

as stated clearly many times before, rests squarely on the shoulders of the British ruling establishment, and their Irish collaborators.

More bombs exploded on the southern side of the border, resulting in deaths of young men and a girl, and injuries to many more.

The murder, after arrest, of Eddie O'Rawe and Jimmy Rowntree in the Lr. Falls district of Belfast by Paratroopers did not rate any protest statements from politicians or churchmen seeking "peace". Nor did the search and wrecking of the home of Eddie O'Rawe's mother five weeks after her son's murder, raise any voices from the "leaders". The list is endless, but lack of space prohibits even a worthwhile fraction of cases being mentioned.

It is obvious that the British Army is being defeated militarily, and that all its major operations, such as internment and Motorman, have been complete failures.

The increasing success of IRA operations in areas outside of Belfast and Derry, as well as in the latter, is well reflected in the success of units in South Armagh, Tyrone and Fermanagh.

At the time of writing the South Armagh unit has been responsible for the deaths of about 30 British Soldiers. Right through the campaign this unit has had success after success, and has shown — as have most other units — that military saturation of an area by occupying forces, will not beat a risen people.

The strength of the IRA in these areas is shown by some recent operations, such as the bombs which killed five British soldiers (including some Paratroopers) near Crossmaglen and in Culloville, Co. Armagh; the car-bomb with a remote controlled device which killed five more British in May at Omagh and the killing of many soldiers in other places.

Republican casualties in action in the same period have been comparatively light, as can be seen from the roll of honour.

Another indication of the nationalist sentiment during these months was the attack during Holy Week by women in Ardoyne on the dreaded Paratroopers. With only their bare hands against all the might of the armed Crown thugs, these women set an example for the craven collaborating politicians, north and south.

The 26-County collaboration was shown clearly in the arrest of Republicans connected with the Claudia arms ship and their subsequent jailing; the safe return of an armed MRF snatch squad in Clones and joint actions by the Free State Army and Crown Forces along border areas.

Shortly after the killing of three Paratroopers near Crossmaglen, the 26 County police launched a massive search and arrest operations around north County Louth — and produced very little result (from their point of view) after all their huffing and puffing. Three men, first charged in July 1972, have since been sentenced by the Special Criminal Court. But, these collaborationist activities were very "pleasing" to the British and loyalists according to certain "national" newspaper politicial commentators.

Two major developments in the first half of 1973 were the interning of young women and the British White Paper. The first Republican woman to be interned was 19-year-old Elizabeth McKee in January followed shortly after by Theresa Mulholland and both have since been joined by several others.

The 26 County General Election provided an extra opportunity for

southern politicians of all parties to "*make a political football*" of the IRA, as a statement issued on February 23 said.

The statement continued: "*The Leadership of the Republican Movement will not tolerate this position and wishes to place on public record the following facts:*

(1) *The claim of Mr. Neil Blaney that he and some others helped found the Provisionals is completely without foundation. While it may be good politics in North Donegal for Mr. Blaney to make such claims, his statements are an insult to the memory of those who have gone to early graves and to those who languish behind prison walls, North and South. We call on Mr. Blaney to withdraw his unfounded allegation and to cease forthwith using the sufferings of the Northern people and the I.R.A. as gimmicks to enhance his election prospects.*

(2) *Mr. Conor Cruise O'Brien has alleged that £70,000 of public money was diverted to the Provisional I.R.A. We hereby repudiate Mr. O'Brien's allegation and demand an immediate withdrawal of his outrageous statement.*

We note that a public enquiry under the auspices of Leinster House politicians failed to reach conclusions as to how the money was spent. In view of that, the Leadership of the Movement would welcome a public enquiry under the auspices of Impartial Citizens of North and South to examine the whole question of Dublin Government finances allocated to the North.

(3) *Mr. Tomas MacGiolla of the National Liberation Front vies with Conor Cruise O'Brien in slandering the Provisionals. We have nothing but the utmost contempt for Mr. MacGiolla's attitude in view of the fact that he along with Mr. Goulding were the people who had dealings with the Haughey-Blaney element in the autumn of 1969. Instead of slandering the Provisionals, Mr. MacGiolla would do well to reveal the amount of finance received from the Fianna Fail element and to state the reasons for the National Liberation Front operations which tarnished the cause of the Northern people. His Pontius Pilate attitude is well in keeping with his role as a typical Free State Politician without any regard for truth and honesty.*

"(4) *Mr. Lynch leads the Fianna Fail spokesmen in smearing the Provisionals. We challenge him to state to the Irish people the promises he made to representatives of Northern Defence Committees in the winter of 1969 and the spring of 1970. His colleague, Mr. Joe Brennan may care to reveal the details of his trip to Fermanagh on August 15th 1969, when he attempted to set up an intelligence network on behalf of the Dublin Government.*

"*We have issued this statement in view of the utter hypocrisy of most participants in the current Election Campaign. Thousands of Irish people of widely differing party political affiliations have assisted the people of the North through the Provisional I.R.A. The time will come when these people will be vindicated and the hyprocisy and deceit of Free State politicians of all parties will be exposed to the people of Ireland.*"

On March 20, 1973, the British Government issued its White Paper, and three days later the IRA rejected its conditions "as the basis for a lasting and just solution for the conflict in occupied Ireland."

The IRA stated that the Leadership viewed the White Paper as "*a skilful application of Britain's age old policy of 'divide and conquer' . . .*

Having failed by military means to break the will of the northern people to be free citizens in a free country, Britain now presents a set of political proposals which is designed to confuse and fragment the nationally-minded community and insult and provoke those who believed in maintaining the connection with England".

The IRA statement reviewed and analysed the conflict over the past four years, and restated the many Republican initiatives made to secure a just and lasting peace. It was noted that the British had made no mention of releasing Republican and Loyalist political prisoners, and did not propose lifting the political ban on Sinn Fein.

The statement continued: *"The Republican proposition of a new Ulster parliament based upon the historic province has much to commend itself as an institution of government which will secure the willing adhesion of the people. Only upon such a basis can organs of government function for the betterment of all. A united Ulster is a feasible, meaningful objective for Loyalists and Republicans alike. Through it, we can establish a new society which will respect the positive aspects of our traditions and ensure a way of life where our children can be reared without the threat of violence and sectarianism.*

"The Republican Movement will work towards that goal by means of political action. The White Paper proposes to exclude Republicans from the field of political activity by reinforcing the ban on Sinn Fein. If the British Government were serious in securing a political solution then it would remove all restrictions forthwith on the Sinn Fein political organisation. But the evidence which confronts us is one of determination on the part of the British Government to pursue its policy of military repression. British soldiers continue to shoot innocent people; homes are raided night and day and the jails and internment camps continue to fill.

"In the face of such oppression, the Irish Republican Army has no option but to continue the campaign of armed resistance. The British White Paper leaves us with no other choice. We regret the British Government did not avail of the many opportunities presented to it to bring the conflict between our two counties to an honourable end. We have never known true peace and justice in Ireland; we never will until Britain recognises that Ireland belongs to the Irish — ours to make and develop.

"There are some who advocate a John Redmond policy of surrender. Many of the political leaders have done so already. We would remind these people of the lessons of 1921 when English guile and Irish gullibility made inevitable the violence we suffer today.

"The violence must be ended once and for all; this generation has endured too much to settle for a solution which would repeat the disaster of 1921. We owe it to those who have died to complete the task they nobly served. Previous generations have failed — we must not".

16 The road to victory

The post-White Paper period brought increased British military oppression on nationalist areas of Belfast, Armagh, Newry and elsewhere. During April, as stated before, three youth were shot dead in Armagh in what newspapers described as "doubtful circumstances", and when in his uncle's car in Ardoyne attempts were made by the Lisburn Lie Machine to pin the death of this young boy on the IRA, but were well and truly refuted by the boy's uncle.

The IRA had no option but to hit back strongly. In order to relieve the pressure on the ghetto areas it was decided to return to the use of car bombs and land mines in unoccupied areas. On several occasions the centre of Belfast and Derry were rocked with IRA bombs, despite all the 'security' measures of the British Army. One such bomb in Bedford Street destroyed several Government offices and caused thousands of pounds of damage.

Another bomb, 70 lbs., was taken into the Belfast Post Office sorting office and, when discovered before exploding took five hours to dismantle.

In mid-May the IRA declared Aldergrove Airport a legitimate target and hundreds of British troops who up to then had been deployed in oppression in the nationalist areas, were drafted to guard the airport. Despite all the precautions at Aldergrove an IRA rocket got through some days later and struck an oil tanker.

In South Armagh, several enemy troops were killed in explosions and others wounded in gunfire. The IRA set up several road-blocks to defend Crossmaglen and other centres from MRF killings and proved to the world that despite the presence of more than 1,500 enemy soldiers in this area, that the Republican Army could operate freely with the full support of the civilian population.

In Derry the IRA have also succeeded in penetrating the heart of the city despite massive enemy presence. In one operation two members of the "security" forces were killed.

An almost completed U.D.R. Centre at Lisnaskea, Co. Fermanagh was destroyed by a 600 lb. bomb. As a result the £200,000 centre has been demolished.

During May and June the movement to have British troops recalled from Ireland was growing very strong in Britain. These calls are now being made regularly in the House of Commons by such people as Mr James Wellbeloved, a Labour M.P. A petition organised by a mother of a soldier aims to have 100,000 names at least on it demanding the return of the troops, and 100 prominent people placed a full-page advertisement in the New Statesman demanding an end to the British presence and oppression in Ireland.

The local elections held in May 1973 were as big a fiasco as the border poll. In these elections the S.D.L.P. ended any credibility the party might have had in nationalist areas by the subservient manner in which it play

ed the British game. The elections for the new Stormont Assembly on June 28 were doomed before even one vote was cast. At this stage of the struggle it is apparent that no patch-work British solution to the Irish question can be successful. Only one solution will work: full freedom for the people of Ireland to determine their own future, without British interference.

In the south, pressure on the Republican Movement is increasing all the time. Regular discussions take place with Dublin and London ministers, and 'Defence' Minister Donegan plans another 1,000 soldiers to collaborate more effectively with the British Army on the other side. The aim: to integrate the British and Free State armies into one anti-IRA force.

The Special Criminal Court is kept busy — in fact has a long waiting list — meting out 'judicial' internment to Republicans. All the draconian laws which were used before to jail and even hang Republicans are being used almost to the full. These laws were once described by 'Justice' Minister Cooney as "unnecessary, excessive, repugnant to the basic principles of justice and liberty and the long established fundamental rights of citizens". When Cooney said that he was in opposition to the Lynch government. He is now in a position to take his orders from London, and is seen to be so doing.

Meanwhile the Republican Movement grows from strength to strength on all fronts. The IRA is now stronger in personnel, morale and arms than at any time since the struggle began. The battle hardened volunteers have proved to the British army that they cannot be beaten. It is only a matter of time before the British Government face that fact.

Public support for the Republican Movement was well shown at the Wolfe Tone Commemoration on June 10 when an estimated 30,000 people heard young Derry Republican, Martin McGuinness, declare that the fight would go on until the aims of the Movement were achieved. The fight was for "government by the Irish people", he said, and not useless trappings, north and south. Wolfe Tone had shown the road we must travel — the long straight road with no turnings.

He said: *"Any man who claims to be a Republican and gets involved in sectarianism is denying the real meaning of Republicanism and has no place in our Movement. We appeal to the Protestant people of the North to join with us and let us go forward together to the New Ireland.*

"Our policy programme, Éire Nua, gives all the guarantees that they can not be descriminated against as they would still be in a majority in Dáil Uladh. To my mind, the only real proposals as a solution to our problems are the once put forward by the Republican Movement: four provincial parliaments with central government. Politicians, north and south, Protestants and Catholics realise this, as we find from their recent references to the New Ireland.

"There can be no solution within the context of a six county solution. The future of this country and its people is in a Democratic Socialist Republic. This is what we must strive for, fight for and if needs be die for".

Down through the centuries, thousands of people have died for Irish freedom. This generation has paid a heavy price. There are almost 1,400 men, women and boys in jail.

Between August 1969 and June 1973 more than 800 people have died

in the Six Counties. Of the total number killed, 261 were members of the 'security' forces: British Army — 187; U.D.R. — 35; T.A.V.R. — 1; R.U.C. 34; R.U.C. Reserves — 4.

Civilian deaths have been 566 in the same period. This total includes 200 people assassinated by the U.V.F., U.D.A., and British Army units such as the S.A.S., M.R.F. and others. Of the balance of 366 civilian dead, 106 were IRA, Cumann na mBan and Fianna Eireann volunteers (some 60 of these died in accidental shootings, explosions, and shooting by the U.V.F.).

The British Army and the RUC were directly responsible for more than 220 civilian deaths. Approximately 40 civilians have died as a direct result of IRA operations in the same period. Had the warnings being heeded in all these operations, these 40 lives would have been saved.

The following Roll of Honour shows the price paid by the Provisional IRA in the struggle for freedom. It is the duty of all to ensure that the suffering and losses of families and friends of the dead, injured and jailed is not in vain.

ROLL OF HONOUR

BELFAST:

Fiann Gerard McAuley	Killed by U.V.F.	1969
Vol. Liam McParland	Killed in car crash	1969
Vol. Henry McIlhone	Shot by U.V.F.	1970
Vol. Peter Blake	Car crash	1970
Vol. Tom McGoldrick	Car crash	1970
Vol. Michael Kane	Killed in active service	1970
Vol. Tony Henderson	Shot by accident	1971
Vol. Terence McDermott	Killed in active service	1971
Vol. Martin Forsyth	Shot by R.U.C.	1971
Vol. Charles Hughes	Shot by N.L.F.	1971
Vol. Seamus Simpson	Shot by British Army	1971
Vol. Dorothy Maguire	C. na mB. Shot by British Army	1971
Vol. James Saunders	Shot by U.V.F.	1971
Vol. Billy Reid	Shot by British Army	1971
Vol. Patrick McAdorey	Shot by British Army	1971
Vol. Tony Nolan	Shot by accident	1971
Vol. Gerard McDade	Shot by British Army	1971
Fiann Michael Sloan	Shot by accident	1972
Vol. Tony Jordan	Car crash	1972
Vol. John Finucaine	Car crash	1972
Vol. Danny O'Neill	Shot by British Army	1972
Vol. Albert Kavanagh	Shot by R.U.C.	1972
Vol. Gerard Crossan	Killed on active service	1972
Vol. Tony Lewis	Killed on active service	1972
Vol. Sean Johnston	Killed on active service	1972
Vol. Tom McCann	Killed on active service	1972
Fiann Sean O'Riordan	Shot by British Army	1972
Vol. Patrick Campbell	Shot by U.V.F.	1972
Fiann Michael Magee	Shot by accident	1972
Fiann John Dougal	Shot by U.V.F.	1972
Vol. Michael Clarke	Killed on active service	1972
Vol. Ann Parker	C. na mB. Explosion	1972
Vol. James Quigley	Shot by British Army	1972
Vol. Daniel McAreavey	Shot by British Army	1972
Vol. Patrick Maguire	Killed on active service	1972
Vol. Joseph McKinney	Killed on active service	1972
Vol. John Donaghy	Killed on active service	1972
Vol. Stan Carberry	Shot by British Army	1972
Fiann David McAuley	Shot by accident	1972
Vol. Joseph Cunningham	Shot by R.U.C.	1972
Vol. Gerard Bell	Shot on active service	1972
Vol. Gerard Steele	Shot on active service	1972
Vol. Robert Dorrian	Shot on active service	1972
Vol. Joseph Magee	Shot on active service	1972
Vol. Samuel Hughes	Shot on active service	1972
Vol. Charles McCrystal	Shot on active service	1972
Vol. John McErlean	Shot on active service	1972
Vol. Edward McDonald	Shot on active service	1972
Vol. Jackie McIlhone	Shot on active service	1972
Vol. Joseph Fitzsimmons	Shot on active service	1972
Vol. Martin Engelen	Shot on active service	1972

Vol. Joseph Downey	Shot by British Army	1972
Vol. Seamus Cassidy	Shot by British Army	1972
Vol. James Reid	Shot by British Army	1972
Vol. Terence Toolan	Shot by British Army	1972
Vol. Louis Scullion	Shot by British Army	1972
Vol. Robert McCrudden	Shot by British Army	1972
Fiann Sean Hughes	Shot by British Army	1972
Vol. Arthur Liggitt	Shot by British Army	1973
Vol. Edward O'Rawe	Shot by British Army	1973
Vol. Tony Campbell	Shot by British Army	1973
Vol. James McCann	Shot by British Army	1973
Vol. James Sloan	Shot by British Army	1973
Vol. Patrick McCabe	Shot by British Army	1973
Vol. Brian Smyth	Shot by British Army	1973
Vol. Tom O'Donnell	Car crash	1973
Vol. Sidney McGee	Shot by British Army	1973
Vol. Anne Marie Pettigrew	Killed on active service	1973
Vol. Francis Hall	Killed on active service	1973
Vol. Francis Dodds	Died in Long Kesh	1973
Vol. James Bryson	Killed by British Army	1973
Vol. Patrick Mulvenna	Killed by British Army	1973

DERRY :

Vol. Thomas McCool	Killed on active service	1970
Vol. Thomas Carlin	Killed on active service	1970
Vol. Joseph Coyle	Killed on active service	1970
Vol. Eamonn Lafferty	Shot by British Army	1971
Vol. Jim O'Hagan	Shot by British Army	1971
Vol. Colm Keenan	Shot by British Army	1972
Vol. Eugene McGillan	Shot by British Army	1972
Vol. John Starrs	Shot by British Army	1972
Vol. Seamus Bradley	Shot by British Army	1972
Vol. John Brady	Killed on active service	1972
Vol. James Carr	Killed on active service	1972
Vol. James McDaid	Shot by British Army	1972
Vol. Michael Quigley	Shot by British Army	1972

CO. DERRY :

Vol. James Sheridan	Killed on active service	1971
Vol. Martin Lee	Killed on active service	1971
Vol. John Bateson	Killed on active service	1971

CORK :

Vol. Tony Ahearne	Killed on active service	1973
Vol. Dermot Crowley	Killed on active service	1973

PORTADOWN		
Vol. Julie Duggan	Car crash	1972
LISNASKEA :		
Vol. Louis Leonard	Murdered by U.D.R.	1972
CO. TYRONE:		
Vol. Kevin Kilpatrick	Shot by U.D.R.	1973
Vol. Sean Loughran	Killed on active service	1973
Vol. Patrick Carty	Killed on active service	1973
Vol. Seamus Harvey	Killed on active service	1973
Vol. Gerald Glynn	Killed on active service	1973
Vol. Danny McAnellan	Killed on active service	1973
Vol. Pat Quinn	Killed on active service	1973
NEWRY:		
Vol. Colm Murtagh	Killed on active service	1972
Vol. Patrick Hughes	Killed on active service	1972
Vol. Oliver Rowntree	Killed on active service	1972
Vol. Noel Madden	Killed on active service	1972
DOWNPATRICK:		
Vol. John Carlin	Killed on active service	1972
Vol. John Curran	Killed on active service	1972
Vol. Leo O'Hanlon	Killed on active service	1973
Vol. Vivienne Fitzsimmons	C. na mB. Explosion	1973
TOOME:		
Vol. Phelim Grant	Killed on active service	1972
Vol. Charles McCann	Killed on active service	1972
STRABANE:		
Fiann Tobias Molloy	Shot by British Army	1972
Vol. Eugene Devlin	Shot by British Army	1972
DUBLIN:		
Vol. Jack McCabe	Killed on active service	1971
CASTLEWELLAN:		
Vol. Peter McNulty	Killed on active service	1972
LURGAN		
Vol. Michael Crossey	Killed on active service	1972
COALISLAND:		
Vol. Denis Quinn	Accidentally shot	1972

Appendix

STRUCTURE OF THE NEW IRELAND

As proposed in June, 1972.

The object of the Republican Movement is to establish a new society in Ireland — EIRE NUA. To achieve that aim, the existing system of undemocratic Partition rule must be abolished and replaced with an entirely new system based upon the unity and sovereignty of the Irish People. The new system shall embody three main features :—

(1) A New Constitution.

(2) A New Governmental Structure.

(3) A New Programme for Social and Economic Development.

A NEW CONSTITUTION

The New Constitution would provide.

(a) A charter of rights which would incorporate the principle of securing to the individual protective control of his conditions of living subject to the common good.

(b) A structure of government which would apply this principle by providing for the maximum distribution of authority at provincial and subsidiary level.

DRAFT CHARTER OF RIGHTS

We suggest a Charter of Rights on the following lines :

"We, the people of Ireland, resolved to establish political sovereignty, social progress, and human justice in this island do hereby pledge that we will practise tolerance and live in peace with one another in order to achieve a better life for all and we declare our adherence to the following principles :

Article 1. All citizens are born free and equal in dignity and rights. Every person is entitled to the rights of citizenship without distinction of any kind, such as distinction of race, sex, religion, philosophical conviction, language or political outlook.

Article 2. Every person has the right to life, liberty and security for person. No one shall be subjected to arbitrary arrest or detention.

Article 3. Every person has the right to freedom of conscience and religion and the open practice and teaching of ethical and political beliefs. This includes the right of assembly, peaceable association, petition and freedom of expression and communication.

Article 4. Every person has the right to participate in the government of the country and to equal access to public service.

Article 5. The basis of government is the will of the people. This is expressed in a direct participatory democracy and free elections by secret ballot. The right of the citizen as an individual to follow his conscience and express his opinion is valid against any mat[illegible]cally contrived attempt to repress him.

Article 6. Every person has the right to education according to personal ability, work and a standard of living worthy of a free citizen. This right extends to food, housing, medical care, and security against unemployment, illness and disability.

Article 7. Every person has the right to equal pay for equal work and to join a trade union for protection of his interests. Motherhood and childhood deserve society's special care and attention. Men and women have the equal right to marry and found a family.

Article 8. In the exercise of his right, every person shall be subject only to such limitations as shall secure recognition and respect for the rights of others and the welfare of the democratic community."

GOVERNMENTAL STRUCTURE

The proposed governmental structure would be federal in character and would consist of four levels:

(a) **Federal (Central) Government:** based upon the unity and sovereignty of the people of Ireland.

(b) **Provincial Government:** based upon the four historic provinces.

(c) **Regional (Administrative) Government:** based upon clearly defined economic regions.

(d) **Community (Local Government:** which would replace existing local government North and South.

FEDERAL GOVERNMENT

1. The Federal Parliament, Dail Eireann, would be a single chamber of approximately 150 deputies elected as follows:—
   (a) 50% by direct universal suffrage on the Proportional Representation System.
   (b) 50% in equal numbers from each provincial parliament.
2. The Federal Parliament would control all powers and functions essential to the good of the whole nation.
3. The Federal Parliament would elect a President, who would be both Prime Minister and Head of State.
4. The President would nominate a Government consisting of a limited number of ministers for election by the Federal Parliament.
5. Members elected to the Government would relinquish their seats in the Federal Parliament. There would be a provision for electing a restricted proportion of the Government from outside Dail Eireann.
6. The independence of the Supreme Court and judicial system, as the guardian of the Constitution, would be secured.
7. National legislation would be initiated by any of the following agencies:
   (a) Federal Parliament deputies.
   (b) The Central Government.
   (c) A Provincial Parliament.
   (d) Referendum.
8. National legislation would be adopted by:
   (a) Federal Parliament.
   (b) Referendum in specified cases.

PROVINCIAL GOVERNMENT

Four democratically elected Provincial Parliaments (Dáil Uladh, Dáil Laighean, Dáil Chonnacht and Dáil na Mumhan) based on the four historic provinces of Ireland — Ulster, Leinster, Connacht and Munster — would deal with their respective areas.

The establishment of Dáil Uladh would be the first step towards the creation of this new governmental structure for the whole island. By thus creating a Provincial Parliament for the nine counties of Ulster within a New Ireland, the partition system would be disestablished and the problem of the border removed. Dáil Uladh would be representative of Catholic and Protestant, Orange and Green, Left and Right. It would be an Ulster Parliament for the Ulster people. The Unionist-oriented people of Ulster would have a working majority within the Province and would therefore have considerable control over their own affairs. That power would be the surest guarantee of their civil and religious liberties within a new Ireland.

REGIONAL GOVERNMENT (Administrative)

Regional Development Councils would be established to promote and co-ordinate the economic, social and cultural affairs of clearly defined economic regions. For example East Ulster and West Ulster, having different economic problems would require separate Regional Deveopment Councils.

The Regional Development Council would be a single chamber consisting of :

(a) Representatives of Community Councils within the region concerned.

(b) A Commission of experts appointed by the Provincial Government.

As well as assessing and co-ordinating the work of Community Councils, the Regional Development Councils would be responsible for collection of rates and taxes; third and higher level education, hospitalisation, communications, and development of growth centres.

COMMUNITY GOVERNMENT (Local)

A system of Community Government would replace the existing local government authorities North and South. It would consist of Community Councils democratically elected by the people on a Proportional Representation basis. A Council would govern an area which has physical and social unity, and on the basis of justice and efficiency would take and implement decision appropriate to its area, with the minimum control by Central Government in accordance with the principle of subsidiarity of function. In brief a Community Council would be a local people's assembly. Councils would vary in size and area of jurisdiction. In determining a Council's area of jurisdiction, physical and social unity would be the principal factors along with the wishes of the local inhabitants.

The purpose of a Community Council would be to foster the social, economic and cultural development of a specific area. Involvement in the decision making process at this level of government would be the keystone and strength of the new governmental system.

The above proposals for a governmental structure are put forward as a realistic basis for discussion and are not to be deemed either definitive or exclusive of alternative proposals.

PROGRAMME FOR SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

The Republican Movement has never looked on the ending of British Rule in Ireland as an end in itself, but rather as a means to restore the ownership of Ireland to the people of Ireland.

The Movement seeks to establish a system free of any exploitation of man by man and which will be truly democratic right down through society.

> "We declare that we desire our country to be ruled in accordance with the principles of Liberty, Equality, and Justice for all, which alone can secure permanence of government in the willing adhesion of the people." (Democratic Programme of Dáil Éireann, 1919).

To give meaningful expression to the above principles of social justice, the Republican Movement has published a new Social and Economic Programme.

Some of the more important and fundamental features of the programme can be summarised as follows :

1. The wealth of Ireland belongs to the people of Ireland and is theirs to be exploited and developed in their interests.
2. To ensure justice for all, the means of production, distribution and exchange must be controlled by the people and administered democratically.
3. Finance, insurance and all key industries must be brought under public control. The principal agents of major development in industry, agriculture and fisheries must be the Federal and Provincial Governments.
4. The Federal Parliament will have complete control over the import and export of capital.
5. An upper limit will be placed on the amount of land any one individual may own. Large ranches will be taken over and leased to groups of families to run on co-operative lines. Only resident citizens of the country will be allowed to own, purchase or lease land within Ireland.
6. Apart from the sectors mentioned above, the main instrument of economic development will be co-operative enterprises in production, distribution and exchange. These will be based on the Comhar na gComharsan philosophy which is founded on the right of worker ownership and is native to the Irish way of life, as well as being co-operative or distributivist in character. Each individual worker will own an economic unit of the means of production — farm, workshop, business or share in a factory or other co-operative. This is true industrial democracy.. Credit Unions will play an important role in this type of development.
7. Private enterprise will still have a role to play in the economy but it will be a much smaller role than it has today. It will have no place in key industries and State incentives will favour co-operative projects as the most socially desirable. No non-national shall be allowed to have a controlling interest in an Irish industry.
8. The New Ireland will pursue an independent foreign policy, unaligned with power blocs such as NATO on the one hand, and the Warsaw Pact on the other. Trade will be expanded with the smaller and neu-

tral nations of Europe and with the countries of the Third World in Asia and Africa. We have more in common with the developing countries of the World (where two-thirds of the world's population live) than we have with the rich club of former colonial powers in the EEC. Irrespective of the referendum on the EEC, we would resist the implementation of any decrees or policies of the Community which would be detrimental to the best interests of our people, or any section of it. Trade links will be maintained with all countries and groups of states with which trade agreements will be negotiated. The aim will be to promote free trade as much as possible, bearing in mind that certain industries will need protection for a period.

9. The Irish language and Irish culture will have an important part in the national effort and their strengthening will be given special attention.
10. Pending the achievement of national independence for all 32 counties, an Economic Resistance Movement will be built up to defend the interests of the Irish people against exploitation, whether from foreign interference or native capitalism; to democratise industry and to promote the Comhar na gComharsan philosophy.

In the drafting of this programme our aim has been to outline a social system which would strike a balance between Western individualistic capitalism, with its poor and hungry amid plenty, on the right, and Eastern Soviet State capitalism (or any of its variations) with its denial of freedom and human rights, on the left.

CONCLUSION

The above programme is an outline of the New Ireland envisaged by the Republican Movement. Its adoption will ensure that the sacrifices of generations will not have been in vain. Peace, prosperity and security can be secured for all our people and foreign rule and dissension shall be buried for ever.

FREEDOM STRUGGLE

by the

PROVISIONAL IRA

Today, the central issue in the war is one of conflict between Ireland's right to freedom and England's determination to keep us in subjection. All other issues are subordinate to this basic point. There can be no compromise on the fundamental issue as to who should rule Ireland: the British Parliament or the Irish people. We have had 800 years of British ineptitude in ruling Ireland; we have never known rule by the Irish, of the Irish, for the Irish. Until we do, we shall never enjoy peace and stability in our land.

There are those who say it is too much to ask of Britain that she acknowledge the right of the Irish people to self-determination. We do not think so. We ask of England that which America gave to Vietnam, France to Algeria and Britain herself to her former colonies of Palestine, Cyprus and Aden. Britain gained in prestige by withdrawing from those countries; she will win universal respect by withdrawing from her first and last colony.

There is but one nation in this island country. There are many diverse traditions which have been exploited in the past by an alien power to keep us divided. Removing the foreign body is the first step towards healing the wound in our divided nation. Respect for the positive traditions of our respective communities will take us far along the road towards formulating a new society which will guarantee peace and prosperity for all.

—Daithi O Conaill,
Belfast, Easter 1973.

Price: 50 pend